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THE ASIA MONTHLY

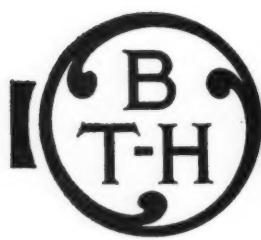


Volume XI Number 7

LONDON JULY 1957

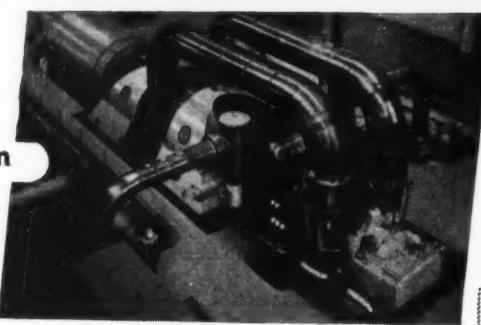
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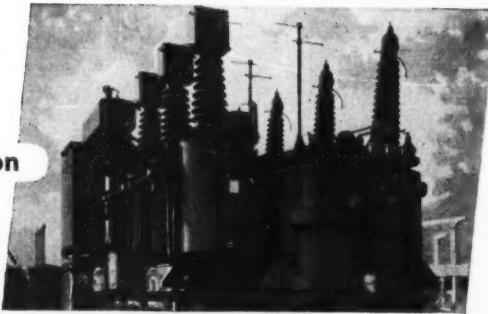


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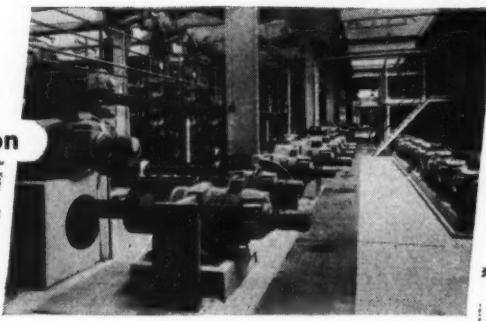
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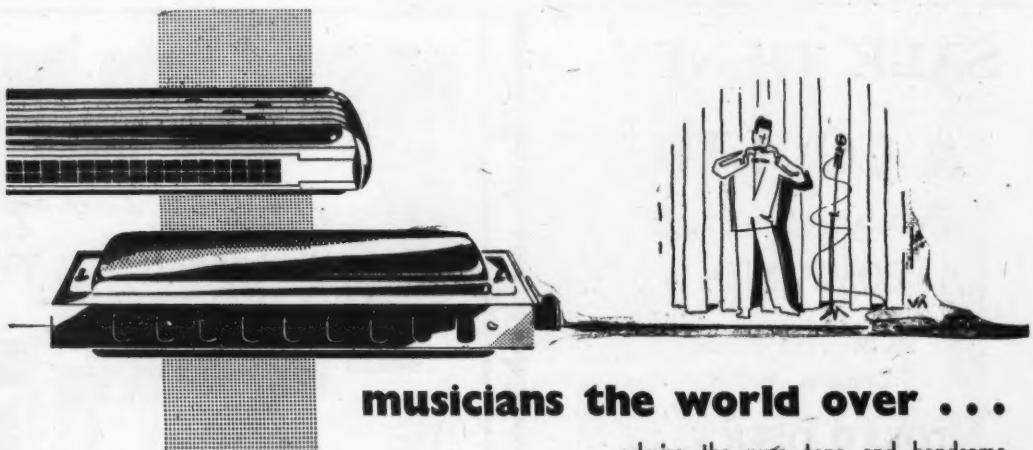
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1957

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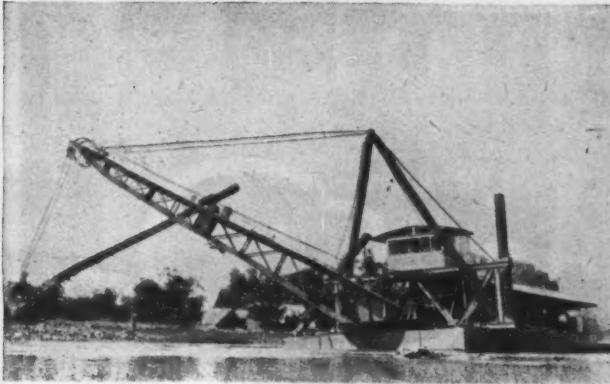


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Front cover picture: Indian technological student under training in a German factory.

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July

1957

Mr. Nehru's Leadership

THE persistent attacks on Mr. Nehru in the British press, attacks that are taking on the character of a deliberate campaign, seem on the surface to have had little effect on him. But being a man of flesh and blood he, too, probably bleeds when he is clawed. He has given vigorous reply, sometimes angry, but always clearly reasoned. Yet neither the press nor the BBC has reported more than disjointed snippets of what he had to say, distorting and in some cases even contradicting the trend of his argument. It seems, therefore, an inescapable conclusion that those who form opinion in Britain are less interested in the merits of the case than, to put it baldly, "gunning for" the Indian Prime Minister.

It is of interest that this coincides with Nehru's growing influence over his own countrymen and the rest of the world. Anyone who does not believe this need only glance at the press of the North European countries Mr. Nehru visited before coming to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. These papers have noted, among other things, that Nehru's India, where opposition to the Government is allowed free play within the law, provides what is possibly the finest example of western type democracy in action.

At a time when the heads of Government in both North Europe and the Middle East declare that Nehru belongs not only to India, but to the world, some British correspondents, voicing an abiding chagrin over the Suez failure, suggest that Nehru's judgment has failed and he should voluntarily shut himself away from the world for a time. They have even committed the sophism of recalling as a salutary measure his periods of "enforced rest" in British gaols. Those responsible for such offensive comments might ponder whether they do not muddy Indo-British relations to the detriment of British interests. The considerations and restraint so often shown in comment on United States policies could with even more justification and profit be applied to Indian affairs.

It is now generally recognised that had it not been for Nehru's leadership, India by this time would have moved farther away from Britain and the West. A few years ago, under a different set of circumstances, the opposite might have been true, but the combination of Nehru's policies,

western power-pressures, and the general trend of world events made a leftward inclination in India almost inevitable. In Indian popular opinion, progress in this direction is not even fast enough. Nehru's friends and supporters find fault with the administration and the Congress Party for not being attuned to the people's mood, as the increased votes for the Communists in the last election showed. Instead of attacking Nehru, British conservative opinion should be thankful for his moderating influence on India.

The attacks have been directed chiefly against India's support for Egypt over Suez, her failure wholly to condemn Russia's action over Hungary, her intransigence over Kashmir, and the large investment programme of the Second Five-Year Plan, which is held responsible for the biggest drain on sterling reserves. To each of these questions there is an Indian answer, but British journalism prefers to obscure it with the techniques of cold war propaganda hitherto reserved for world Communism.

On Egypt, British publicists appeared almost more sensitive to Indian opposition than to the outright threats of the United States and the Soviet Union. The utmost that India did was to give warning that she might leave the Commonwealth. In any case the opposition inside Britain, led by the Labour Party, did more to cripple the war policy than anything from outside. On Hungary, India, like the West, condemned the suppression by force of a largely national rising, but Nehru declined to use this as a pretext for departing from his policy of non-alliance. To Indians, it is in any case an example of the pot calling the kettle black, for Algeria and Cyprus in their eyes are just about as evil as Hungary. Mr. Nehru, in a broadcast to Canada, has indeed described what the French are doing in Algeria as "fifty times worse."

India's Second Five-Year Plan is modest both by the standards set by Russia and China, and those demanded by the Indian people itself. But however great the difficulties, Nehru is determined that the people must be neither regimented nor squeezed dry to accomplish the Plan. He would rather take a large loan from foreign sources to meet such normal capital shortages as are also encountered even by rich countries or big firms that undertake expansion. There is no

crisis in either India's Plan or finances.

Over Kashmir, the British press has been so consistently biased in favour of Pakistan that it can hardly claim a hearing in India. Furthermore, Pakistan's membership of the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts, and its vigorous advocacy of the western Powers' policies against the East, have now made Kashmir almost a cold war issue.

The British financial press, which enjoys a high reputation for sobriety and responsibility, attacks the Second Plan as too ambitious, placing an undue strain on rupee and sterling resources. It could with advantage, they argue, be spread from the planned five years to seven or even ten. Such admonitions are to be expected from orthodox economists, and they are probably not, on the whole, hostile in intention. Nonetheless their effect would be to depress India's credit in the world's capital markets. India's economy has now been found sound and deserving of loans by the World Bank. There seems no good reason why the City should wish to trip up India.

No good can come to either Britain or India by quarrelling with each other. Only together can the two enlarge their joint and separate freedoms, as well as those of other nations. Repeatedly Nehru has stressed the desirability and the advantages of India's continuing membership of the Commonwealth, but British leaders have been less generous in recognising its reciprocal benefits to Britain.

Apart from India's weight in the scale of Commonwealth, the personality of Nehru alone is worth a few divisions — or at least one H-bomb — to Britain. Considering the adulation showered on Field-Marshal Smuts for years, the scant acknowledgment of Nehru's place in the Commonwealth seems strange. The Americans at one time piqued Britain by saying that Nehru was the best foreign minister it had. There is a considerable element of truth in the comment. Nehru's attachment to Britain and British culture has often blunted

the edge of anti-British agitation in areas still under British rule. To both Moscow and Washington, Britain must seem to some extent, in spite of the colonial excesses in Kenya and Cyprus, a beneficiary of the Bandung countries' goodwill towards Nehru.

Foreign attacks on Nehru and on India are often picked up from Indian sources, and then thrown back further to reinforce opposition within the country. They feed on each other, and harm India's development. Nehru does not expect to be turned into a Roman god, and is used to constant criticism from his own supporters. He is also self-critical by nature, as well as a persistent critic of his administration and the Congress Party. But he is above all a popular leader and one of the world's greatest statesmen—if not the greatest of all his contemporaries. Yet some of his colleagues in the Indian administration appear a little shamefaced about his policies, especially within the country.

Many of them treat talk of Socialism as mere party slogans, while India's diplomatic missions abroad are inclined to hide in the cupboard the embarrassing skeletons of Congress and Parliament resolutions. And it is not only India's administrators and diplomats who are shy about them. India's foreign trade is also being conducted with diffidence and timidity. This is giving rise to the impression in the West that if only sufficient pressure were applied, India's planned economy and aim of Socialism could be pushed back.

India's special appeal to advocates of democratic Socialism lies in her evolutionary road, her independent, pragmatic approach, and her policy of non-alignment. India's experiment, choosing a different route to that of China and the Soviet Union, is an inspiration to all the new nations in Asia and Africa — even when some of them complain of "intellectual arrogance" on the part of individual Indians. A great deal will depend on what happens in India and how it happens; and from it, Nehru is at this time inseparable.

MAO'S FINGER ON THE PULSE

A GREAT deal of speculation has been going on in the western world about the reason for and meaning of, the important speech made by Mao Tse-tung in February and released last month. Many people have quite confidently interpreted it as an attempt by the Communist hierarchy in China at staving off a Hungary-type revolt. Others, slightly less ignorant of Chinese affairs, have seen it as Mao's answer to widespread unrest in China. Neither of these views would seem to be anywhere near the truth.

It has been the Chinese Communist Party's strength since the middle nineteen thirties that it has constantly adapted its doctrine to the shifting needs of China's vast population, and the fact that the regime now finds itself able to allow changes of a more liberal nature to take place is a sign of confidence and strength, not weakness. Those who nurse the hope that the Peking regime will someday crack ought to do the opposite of rejoice at Mao's words.

The central theme of the speech seems to be that progress within the socialist structure in China will be slowed up if coercion is not superseded by persuasion. But this is no sudden change. Moves in this direction have been made over the last eighteen months or more. The Chinese leaders have not just discovered that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the cadres in the countryside is anachronistic. The announcement comes when the rectifying of mistakes is well in hand. To suggest that Mao's pronouncement was influenced by events elsewhere in the Communist world is largely illusory, for although the new doctrine may well become a Communist classic, it was formulated from experience in Chinese conditions, and it is for further implementation in conditions peculiar to the situation in China.

In discussing the running of the Communist state in China many commentators overlook the size of the nation. Since the text of Mao Tse-tung's speech became known,

western reports have talked of large numbers of meetings in China called to criticise the Government. In relation to the support the regime enjoys the critics, although given much attention at this time, are very small in number. And it is also a measure of the critics' sense of security that they feel able to criticise freely in the midst of a vast and well established Communist administration.

The suggestion that some sections of the Chinese Communist Party might not take kindly to criticism and try to get Mao to back-pedal from the terms of his pronouncement is not without validity, for there are those in every party who are diehards and believe in the absoluteness of power, but the regime in China is confident that it has given the Chinese people a sense of unity such as they have not had for many centuries, and it is not untrue to say that almost no one in China today would choose an alternative to the present Government. What many will do, now that open criticism is allowed, is to press for a more democratic representation of parties and views other than the Communist parties. But Mao Tse-tung made it clear that the two-party system of western parliamentary government would work to the detriment of the worker and peasant in China. The preservation of the state's function to the benefit of the masses is, in his view, the paramount consideration and any system that would be likely to undermine that is the opposite of freedom. The factor to bear well in mind is that the peasant and working population of China agrees with him.

All revolutionary situations produce excesses and the essence of the trend in China today is that, now the revolutionary ardour is of necessity cooling down, the mistakes and excesses perpetrated in the cause of revolution must be rectified. The Chinese leaders, in recent statements, have been extremely frank about mistakes for which the Communist regime has been responsible. Criticism and even the right of

workers to strike, they feel, exposes the mistakes, which can then be put right. But a clear line has been drawn between the people and the Government, and that between the Government and the elements who oppose the course of socialism. There is, however, no sign that the method of dealing with the latter, who are too few, relatively, to worry the Peking Government to any great extent, is going to entail anything more drastic than persuasion. Chou En-lai said in a recent speech that it was the Communist party's hope that they would profit by their own experience, repent and "accept opportunities of remoulding themselves."

What makes Mao's pronouncement so important, and why it is a milestone in Communist theory, is that it recognises openly for the first time that the ruled, in a Communist country, as anywhere else, harbour differences with the rulers, the individual with collective interests, the young with the old, and so on. Even if identity of interest exists, differences inevitably occur on method. Communism has not hitherto countenanced differences among its populace. That China now does, and wishes to bring them into the open is a startling departure, and may well have repercussions, favourable or unfavourable, in other parts of the Communist world. The trend could also have its effect on foreign relations with China. It is true that Mr. Dulles has reiterated that the American view of China has not changed in recent weeks, but as Americans have always voiced the wish to see liberalising trends in China, perhaps this recent move will do something psychological to the relationship between the two countries.

But these are consequences. The important factor is that the campaign of rectification indicates that the Chinese Communist leadership has never taken its finger off the pulse of the Chinese people.

Comment

Bandaranaike's Burden

THE seriousness of the political disquiet in Ceylon, brought about by the issue of the Tamil language, is indicated by the absence from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Ceylon Prime Minister. The Federal Party in Ceylon has been building up its campaign for Tamil autonomy in a federal structure with vigour, and the Prime Minister has been doing everything he can to stave off the civil disobedience campaign due to begin on August 20. Feelings have been running high in the Tamil areas, and it is by no means certain that if the civil disobedience campaign was undertaken it would not blow up into civil strife of an ugly character.

Mr. Bandaranaike's proposals for guaranteeing a certain status to the Tamil language have done something to satisfy

the federalists. Although he has made no promise that Tamil shall be on an equal footing with Sinhalese, he has said that it would be recognised on the official level. He has further pledged himself to not allowing discrimination against the Tamil people, and offered regional councils in place of the Federal Party's demand for autonomous regions. He is restricted in offering anything more to Tamil opinion because of opposition within his own governing party, and because of the general heightened feelings among the Sinhalese-speaking population. It is not certain yet whether some of his own followers might not think he has already offered too much.

One complaint of the Federal Party is that traditional Tamil areas are being "colonised" with Sinhalese. This is part of a deliberate policy which has a long-term object as well as a short-term one. No doubt it was one with which Mr. Bandaranaike confronted Mr. Nehru during their meeting last month. There is a strong feeling, it might almost be

said to be a fear, among some prominent Sinhalese that the Tamil areas of Ceylon approximate to southern India are in potential danger from Indian encroachment. The argument is that when Mr. Nehru eventually disappears from the Indian political scene, his successor will have little alternative, in the face of agitation, but to create a federation of autonomous Indian states. The Ceylonese fear is that the Tamil areas of Ceylon will be drawn into an autonomous southern Indian Tamil State.

This is not as far fetched and unreasonable as it may at first seem. There is no denying that in some Ceylonese minds the India of the future appears as a powerful threat to Ceylon's sovereignty, and some have actually expressed the view that British opinion should not be alienated over the question of bases, especially as it may be to Ceylon's advantage in the future to allow Britain to make use of them.

With Federal Party pressure on one side, and Sinhalese opinion becoming inflammatory on the other, the Prime Minister's position is not enviable. It would be considerably easier if more people in the Government coalition saw eye to eye with him, but it is doubtful if he feels he can trust more than a few to see all Ceylon's problems in as sensible a light as he does himself.

Lifted Embargo

THE decision by Britain to remove restrictions in trading with China is long overdue, but it is nevertheless a welcome sign that in matters of importance such as this Britain can still feel itself able to act independently of American opinion. It has not taken long for other European countries to follow Britain's lead in the matter, and western Germany is going ahead at a rapid pace in promoting her trading interests with China.

Reaction in the United States has been mixed. Some, like Senator Knowland, have said that they fail to understand why Britain should take a course which "will result in the strengthening of our common enemy." But President Eisenhower, at a later date, indicated his sympathy for Britain's action, and from what he had to say it appeared that he looks forward to the time when American restrictions on trade with China will be brought into line with Britain and other European countries.

Japan is the one country to be placed in a dilemma by Britain's lifting of the embargo. Opinion in Japan has long been that the embargo was meaningless, and industrial circles desperately wish to get into the China market, but Japan depends so much on American good will that she dare make no move which would offend the United States. And yet she must have a constant supply of raw materials to keep her large working population fully employed, and China seems the natural place from which to get those raw materials.

The interesting aspect of the affair is the reaction of China herself. While the Peking authorities welcome the release of the embargo, they have given no sign of joyous over enthusiasm. Mr. Chou En-lai still maintains that Britain is in America's pocket, and her independent action over China trade has not convinced him that she is willing to take an independent line in other matters that involve relations with China. But perhaps Mr. Chou might take note of some of the comments that have come out of the United States, where it has been said, by Senator Fulbright among

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others, that Britain's action has further shown "the rather sterile American policy towards China, with no prospects of it leading anywhere".

If the lead given by Britain in this matter goes any way to convincing the Americans that their policy in the Far East continues to be in the nature of a crusade against Communism rather than anything positive, then it will have achieved something in world affairs other than just increasing commercial intercourse. For that reason alone it is welcome

Europe's Asia Trade

TRADING possibilities with Asia have received a new impetus in the various European countries ever since Britain took the lead in adjusting the embargo restriction to China. Western Germany, in particular, has been fully aware of the desirability of securing an early entry into the China trade, and her quick decision to follow the British example indicates the prevailing realisation in Europe that trade must be conducted on an extra-political level if the vast potential markets in the East, which are of vital importance to all industrial countries, are not to be lost. Commercial circles in Hamburg appeared more open-minded and more liberally disposed than the political pundits in Bonn who were bound to watch with one eye the frowns of Washington while casting the other with some apprehension on the increasing marketing difficulties experienced by their industries. The British action has, therefore, been accepted with great relief and satisfaction, a feeling which was shared by most other European manufacturing countries whose immediate reactions varied only to the degree to which they had to consider American feelings. At the moment, European trade with Asia is mainly concentrated on India which is the largest single eastern purchaser on the continent, but it is generally realised that, if normal trade relations with China could be established, not only large, but also continuous sales could be made to that country for many years to come. Bearing in mind that the requirements of South-East Asia are bound to grow in step with the reconstruction programmes of the underdeveloped countries, trading experts all over Europe are realising that Asia may well constitute the biggest world market in the not too distant future. But this realisation is still limited to comparatively few, whose vision is by no means shared by all official sources, and many a useful and friendly contact on

the commercial side can often be spoiled by a clumsy and unrealistic official attitude. Nothing can be achieved by either ignoring China or by trying to form alignments against her. Despite the provocation of an almost uninterrupted chain of US bases from South Korea, Japan and Taiwan to the SEATO network, all of which is intended to prevent a Chinese attack, China has consistently declared her peaceful intentions and everyone who has witnessed Chinese life today must agree that she is bent on establishing improved standards for her 600 million and that she most certainly has no aggressive intention, though she would be prepared, like any country, to defend her sovereignty. As long as normal political relations have not been established, and trade not freed from the various restrictions which, while not harming China but are being felt by her as an insult, no complete participation of European industry in the enormous Chinese reconstruction can be expected. Thus it is evident, that not only obvious materialistic reasons, but frequently also psychological considerations influence our trade relations with Asia. This adaptation to a different atmosphere is by no means fully comprehended by western manufacturers and traders. There is still a general tendency to overlook the right angle of approach to potential buying circles in the East, and to use the same measure-sticks for the Asian market as used in Europe. Too much reliance is placed by most firms on their local agents, advertising is more often than not mismanaged and neglected, and the widely spread Asian system of large-scale purchasing by political machinery, so different from the methods employed in Europe, is only partly comprehended. It is, on the other hand, true that Germany has in one respect been more alive to Asian wishes than other western countries, and that is as far as the training of Asian apprentices in German factories is concerned. This is a very important aspect of East-West collaboration which no doubt will pay dividends to German industry and which other western countries will be well advised to emulate on a larger scale than hitherto. The eastern European industrial countries, in particular Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, seem to have a deeper insight in these psychological factors of Asia trade, perhaps because they are less encumbered with tradition in that market. It is certain that they have made great progress in penetrating the Indian and other South-East Asian markets on a purely competitive basis, not only against western European industry, but also Japan. For both, eastern and western Europe, the Asian market is now beginning to expand and it will be interesting to see whether this will also have beneficial consequences in the general field of international understanding.

Rumblings in Thailand

FOR the last few years Thailand has been one of the best friends of the West in South-East Asia. She has formed one of the bulwarks against the encroachment of Communism in the area, and we have read in American magazines how the Siamese people are happy and contented and are not interested in political matters. In fact it has been the ideal country looked at from the heights of Washington DC. Recently, however, there have been slight sounds of rumbling on the political front in Bangkok. People here and there have spoken out in sharply critical terms of Pibul Songgram's Government, and there have been mild displays of anti-

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American feeling.

The most curious thing has been the oblique criticism of the Americans contained in newspapers whose control can be traced to Pibul himself. This is very worrying for the United States embassy, but now concern has shifted to the number of Siamese in reasonably prominent positions who have been flocking off to China for one reason or another, with one excuse or another. American circles have shown downright annoyance at this, especially as it appears that the Government, while denying that exit permits to China had been granted, had in fact turned a blind eye to a number of these visits.

It is not possible to detect any clear-cut line among the various groupings of Siamese politicians, but it can be said with reasonable assurance that there is a strong feeling that America has too tight a hold on the running of Siamese affairs, and there may be nothing more to the visits to China than a defiant demonstration on the part of Siamese political leaders and officials that they are masters of their own destiny.

There seems little likelihood that there is any truth that a group of politicians have been trying to bring about the return of Nai Pridi Panomyong, the former Prime Minister and leader of the Free Thai movement during the war, now in China, but the fact that the Government had to issue a denial that such a move was afoot is indication enough that the possibility is still discussed in some quarters.

Thailand has grown in political stature quite a lot in recent years, and the politically conscious are no longer content to sit down under the burden of their attachment to a western strategic notion. Thailand is the one country of Asia that was never colonised by a western nation. Now at this late stage it has virtually come to that, the Thais are becoming restive, and who can blame them. They have only to look at their neighbouring South-East Asian countries to observe that although a certain amount of bad government does exist, at least there is pride and dignity.

The rumblings in Thailand have been predicted for some time by observers of the American attitude towards the country. Although the United States will do everything they can to persuade the Siamese people that it would be a mistake to be dissatisfied with the hand that feeds them, the discontent is not likely to subside, for the inner compelling feeling that starts dissatisfaction in the first place is too strong to accept American protection as its antidote.

LAND REFORM IN INDIA

By P. N. Thapar

(Secretary of Agriculture, Government of India)

LIKE many other countries in Asia, Indian economy is predominantly rural and agricultural. Land gives employment to about three-fourths of the population of India and yields half its national income. While efforts are being made to develop industries and to provide alternative sources of employment, there is little prospect in the immediate future of relieving the pressure of population upon land. Agriculture will, for many years to come, remain the occupation of the bulk of the people. Programmes for agricultural development for the first plan period (1951-56) have been successfully carried out. Agricultural production has increased by about 19 percent. But in spite of this, Indian technique still remains backward and yields are very low. Agrarian reform is a matter of the utmost concern and importance.

The land problem arises mainly because of the scarcity of land and under-development of other resources. On account of the adverse man-land ratio the holdings are small and scattered. As the scale of operations is generally uneconomic, the cultivator lacks resources and incentive for efficient production and has a very low standard of living. Attempts to raise the level of technique and productivity are hindered by the defects of organisation.

The solution of the land problem lies in a coordinated effort in several directions including agricultural extension service, use of improved seeds and better methods of cultivation, increased irrigation, soil conservation, extension of cultivation on waste lands, improvement of live-stock, better land utilisation, adequate agricultural credit and reform of the agrarian structure.

Among the main defects of the agrarian structure may be mentioned the small fragmented holdings, the uneven distribution of land and the tenancy system. According to data collected by the National Sample Survey about a fourth of the total area is cultivated through tenants or crop-sharers. As there is much concealed tenancy, the actual area is much larger. Tenants and crop-sharers need security of tenure and a fair return for their labour.

The distribution of land resources from the point of view of both ownership and cultivation is very unequal. Twenty-two percent of rural families do not own any land; 25 percent own one acre or less; 53 percent families own five acres or less. At the other end, one per cent families own more than 50 acres each and hold 16 percent of the total area. The pattern of cultivation or operational holdings shows similar trends. About 34 percent of the rural households cultivate areas of one acre or less; 64 percent cultivate holdings of five acres or less and hold only 16 percent of the total area. At the other end, one percent families cultivate more than 50 acres and hold 14 percent of the total area.

Leaving out questions relating to technological development and the provision of rural credit and other allied prob-

lems as beyond the scope of this article, land reform in its narrower interpretation may be said to relate mainly to adjustments in the rights of various classes interested in land, a more equitable distribution of land and the reorganisation of the agrarian structure in order to remove institutional defects which are an obstacle to agricultural development. While the objectives of land policy are two-fold, namely social justice and increased production, the main emphasis in the present short-range programme is mainly upon social justice. Wide disparities in social status, income and opportunity have to be removed to establish a truly democratic society. In the Indian Continent there is, however, no real conflict between the two purposes as social change is intended to provide the necessary psychological incentive and a suitable institutional framework for increased production.

The main aspects of the land reform programme adopted in India are:

1. Ending the landlord-tenant system and establishing peasant proprietorship by such measures as the abolition of intermediaries and tenancy reform conferring security of tenure upon tenants and fixing fair rents, leading eventually to the acquisition of ownership by tenants.
2. Re-distribution of land by placing ceilings upon future acquisition and existing holdings and acquiring surplus areas above the ceiling for resettlement of landless agricultural workers and increasing the size of uneconomic holdings.
3. Consolidation of scattered holdings into compact blocks and the prevention of fragmentation and diminution of holdings below the economic size.
4. Development of cooperative farming by which small holdings will be pooled and cultivated jointly to increase the size of the operational unit and make the economies of large-scale organisation available.

During the first plan period (1951-56), remarkable progress has been made in the abolition of intermediaries. About half the area in India was held under a variety of intermediary tenures such as zamindars, jagirdars, taluqdars, and so on, which involved feudal or semi-feudal conditions. With the exception of a few small insignificant pockets, intermediaries have been abolished throughout the country. Tenants now hold the land directly from the State on payment of a reasonable annual land tax.

Progress in tenancy reforms has been comparatively slow and shows wide diversity. It must be borne in mind that under our federal Constitution, the responsibility for enacting land reform laws and for enforcing them rests with the State Governments. The Government of India, in consultation with the States, lays down a broad national policy which has to be adjusted to local conditions and needs in the different regions of the country.

With the abolition of intermediaries, tenants who previously held land directly from the intermediaries, have been emancipated and have, for all practical purposes, become owners. There were, however, certain classes of cultivators

who were generally not affected directly by the abolition. These are sub-tenants or crop-sharers holding land under the tenants. Further, there are *ryotwari* areas which cover about half the country. In these areas settlements of land were made directly with peasant proprietors early in the nineteenth century. During the course of a hundred and fifty years, however, considerable areas have passed into the hands of absentee owners who get their lands cultivated through tenants. Tenancy reform is concerned with the conferment of security of tenure upon such tenants and sub-tenants, fixation of fair rents and provisions for converting them into owners. The existing owners constitute the bulk of the agricultural population, many of whom have limited means and depend upon land for their living. Delicate adjustments have, therefore, to be made between their interests and the interests of the tenants.

The main feature of tenancy reform is to allow the owners to resume limited areas for personal cultivation ensuring at the same time, as far as possible, that the tenants are not rendered landless and a minimum area is left to them for their cultivation. There are, however, very wide variations. On the one hand in a few States, sub-tenants have been made owners of all the lands they held and the owners have not been allowed to eject them. In some other States, on the other hand, greater concessions were made to the owners and they were allowed to resume considerable areas for personal cultivation. In some cases, particularly where tenants held land from small owners, it was necessary to allow the small owners to resume land, even if the tenants, as a consequence, had no land left. In some States these complicated questions are still under consideration. Meanwhile steps have been taken to protect the tenants from ejection. However, in some form or other tenancy legislation has been enacted practically throughout the country.

It has been decided that maximum rents should not ordinarily exceed one-fourth or one-fifth of the gross produce. Laws to this effect have been made in various States. There are, however, still very large areas where rents remain at a much higher level. The enforcement of these laws leaves much to be desired. In some areas, owners exercised pressure upon tenants and persuaded them to give up their lands without recourse to law. In some areas, owners continue to recover rents at a level higher than that permitted by law. This is largely due to the fact that the tenants are illiterate, have a weak social and economic position, and are not familiar with the law, which is in many cases very complex. It is necessary to set up a strong administrative system to enforce the law and to associate the elected representatives of the village community with the work. The Second Five-Year Plan has laid considerable emphasis on the steps necessary to enforce the law and has also recommended that where tenants have been ejected in recent years, steps should immediately be taken to restore them to their lands.

In a number of tenancy laws enacted during the first plan period, provision was made enabling tenants to purchase ownership on payment of a fair price to the owner. Generally, however, not much advantage has been taken of these pro-

visions. In the Second Five-Year Plan, it has therefore, been recommended that State Governments should take steps to convert tenants into owners (in respect of areas which the owner is not allowed to resume), and make arrangements to recover a fair price in easy instalments.

Consolidation of scattered holdings into compact blocks raises no controversial issues and its urgent need has been widely recognised. The main limiting factors have, however, been the lack of administrative and financial resources and the pre-occupation during the first plan period with the reform of the agrarian structure as a pre-requisite of consolidation. Considerable progress has, however, been made already in a number of States and further programmes are being undertaken during the second plan period.

In a large number of States legislation has been enacted to prevent holdings being broken up below a reasonable size or being scattered into widely separated plots by transfer or partition. However, in a situation where alternative sources of employment are not available and the pressure upon land is so great, there are practical difficulties in the enforcement of such provisions. While their necessity cannot be disputed, further experience is necessary to indicate the most suitable methods for enforcement.

Even where all the measures mentioned above have been fully enforced, certain radical defects and weaknesses in the agrarian structure will persist. The landlord-tenant system, wherever it prevails, will be replaced by a more efficient system, namely peasant proprietorship, which it is hoped will release productive forces from their present stagnation. Redistribution of land will provide an assured means of income and higher social status to some of the agricultural workers' families who today constitute the most backward and under-privileged part of Indian society. It will also help, to some extent, to increase the size of uneconomic holdings.

Consolidation of holdings will make more efficient cultivation possible. But even after all this has been done, a distressingly high percentage of cultivators would still own holdings of too small a size which prevent efficient cultivation or capital formation. The answer to this, some suggest, lies in the rapid development of cooperative farming. On the intellectual plane cooperative joint farming versus peasant proprietorship constitutes one of the water-sheds of economic and sociological thought, and the subject naturally arouses much controversy and a great deal has been, and will continue to be, said on both sides. But the view dominating the field now is that cooperative farming in some suitable form to be evolved, should be developed as rapidly as possible with careful regard to methods and procedures which should be peaceful and democratic. The idea of Cooperative Joint Farming has developed later in period of time. Had it developed earlier India could have gone directly to Cooperative Farming instead of resorting first to abolition of intermediaries and creation of personal proprietors and afterwards to combine them into Cooperative Farms.

THE POLITICAL MIND OF INDIA

By G. S. Bhargava (New Delhi)

THOUGH Himachal Pradesh and the Kangra region of Punjab went to the polls only last month and in Kashmir the results are not complete as this article is written, the election fever in the country has generally died down. The din and bustle of electioneering and, following it, the clamour of claims and counter-claims by parties have yielded to a cooler appraisal of the polling trends.

For students of politics, more than the gains and losses of particular parties, the political mind of the country as revealed by the election results is more important. Especially, this being India's second General Election since Independence, juxtaposition of its principal trends with those thrown up by the 1951-52 elections may indicate the path India is taking to her political destiny. This does not, however, mean a mechanical comparison of the voting figures of different parties in 1951-52 with their latest electoral record. In western Europe and America, where no more than two or three parties participate in the elections, where there is a continuity of political development and where definite, and often rational, election issues decided the verdict of the electorate such a comparison is tenable. In Britain, for instance, performance of the Labour Party in a pre-war General Election, when studied alongside latest election results, gives a correct picture of political developments in the country.

In India, on the other hand, between the two elections some of the principal political parties have undergone structural and other changes; in many States some of the contestants have taken recourse to an entirely new election strategy with the result that voting has been affected by it and State boundaries have been, in most cases, redrawn, increasing the margin of error in any comparative study of voting figures. A number of adjustments have, therefore, to be taken into account in such an analysis. For instance, on the face of it, there has been an increase of 8.5 million, from 103.8 million in 1951-52 to 112.3 million now, in the number of votes polled in the assembly elections, corresponding to a 20-million rise in the electorate between the elections. This means a spurt of 4.3 in the percentage of polling from 44.9 in 1951-52 to 49.2 now. But there were assembly elections in Delhi and Himachal in 1951-52; being Union Territories they now have no assemblies. A little over 700,000 votes were polled in these two areas for assembly election, deducting which from the 1951-52 polling figure, there will actually be an increase of 9.2 million in the number of votes cast.

In the elections to the Lok Sabha (House of the People), there has been an increase of 8.9 million, from 105.5 million in 1951-52 to 114.4 million now, in the number of votes polled. But between the last elections and now there has been a decline in the percentage of the total number of valid votes polled to the electorate, from 60.2 percent to 58 percent. A part of this fall may be due to the absence of simultaneous assembly elections in the Circars and Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh and Delhi. This comparative indifference of the voters for Lok Sabha elections, coupled with the fact that in view of the largeness of the parliamentary constituencies resources of contestants

play more than their due role in these elections, makes the assembly election results a better index of the strength and weakness of the political parties.

The Congress party, for instance, has increased its poll in the assembly elections by 3.8 million, from 43.8 million in 1951-52 to 47.6 million now, whereas in the Lok Sabha elections the rise is as much as 6.6 million or exactly double. This can be accounted for only by reference to the undoubtedly larger resources at the command of the ruling party than those of even the combined opposition. Further to corroborate this view is the phenomenon of the Praja Socialist Party winning only 19 Lok Sabha seats alongside 199 (including four successful Independents supported by the party in Bihar) assembly seats and the more resourceful Lohia wing of the party capturing seven Lok Sabha seats, though it failed to secure even 40 new assembly seats.

Therefore, confining this review to the assembly elections, the Congress party has now won 1,889 of the 2,901 total assembly seats all over the country. This gives it control of about 65.1 percent of the seats in the different legislative assemblies. In 1951-52, the party had captured 2,246 seats but the total number of seats then was 3,283, or 382 more than now. The loss of 357 seats did not, therefore, represent any setback in the proportion of the party's seats to the total. At the same time, while in 1951-52 the Congress party had been successful in 2,246 of the 3,153 seats it had contested and its candidates had lost their security deposit in a remarkably small number of 86 seats, in the present election it has won only 1,889 of the 2,881 seats for which it entered candidates. The number of deposits lost by Congress candidates is also about twice as much as before. In other words, Congress successes compared with the seats contested fell from 70.6 percent in 1951-52 to 65.5 percent now.

In the number of votes polled also, as against the increase of 9.2 million in the total number of votes cast, the Congress vote has appreciated by only 3.8 million, which represents 41 percent of the additional vote. In terms of percentage of the Congress vote to the total valid and invalid votes, the position is stationary at 42.2. Another disheartening feature of the present elections is that in no more than two States has the Congress secured more than 50 percent of the votes, though it is back in power in 12 of the 11 States. (For a variety of reasons Kashmir is not covered by this study). In 1951-52, the Congress had an absolute majority of votes in five States, viz. Saurashtra (63.9 percent), Coorg (55.6 percent), Delhi (52.9 percent), Bhopal (52 percent), and PEPSU (77.7 percent). All these areas have been affected by the reorganisation of States and in all cases except Delhi, which has had no assembly elections now, the larger units into which they have been incorporated have not seen a proportionate appreciation of the Congress vote, Mysore being the only exception to this.

In the present election, the Congress has won an absolute majority of votes only in Assam (56.6 percent) which has not been affected by the reorganisation of States and where the Congress vote has improved by as much as

10.3 percent, and Mysore (50.9 percent) which now includes Coorg as well as districts from the former States of Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad and where the rise in the Congress vote is 4.6 percent. PEPSU, which had in 1951-52 given the highest percentage of votes to the Congress (77.7) has now raised the percentage in Punjab, with which it is now merged, from 37 to 46. In a state like Uttar Pradesh, which is the least affected by the redrawing of State boundaries, the drop in the Congress vote, from 47.9 to 42.7, is greater than that in the case of Bombay, which, in its present form, is almost a new State and where the States question by and large determined the election results. The decline in the Congress vote in Bombay is no more than 1.7 percent. In other words, the loss of ground by the ruling party cannot be fully attributed to States reorganisation troubles.

This mechanical comparison between the 1951-52 and the present election figures is valid only in the case of the Congress, because it retains its massive character and, as before, contested almost all the assembly seats. Moreover, it has not, like the Opposition parties, entered into adjustments and "united fronts." The Praja Socialist Party is the exact opposite of the Congress in this respect. A large number of factors have to be taken into account before a comparison can be attempted between its voting strength in 1951-52 and now. First, it is today a combination of the former Socialist and Kisan Mazdoor Praja parties which had contested the last elections independently and often in opposition to one another. This does not, however, totally warrant the procedure often adopted of juxtapositioning the combined record of the Socialist and KMP parties in 1951-52 with the present PSP performance. In the first place there is the defection from the party of Dr. Lohia and his followers which has undoubtedly weakened the PSP. In States like Andhra this came on the top of nullification of the merger by the re-formation of the Praja Party by the members of the former KMP. Thus, the PSP in the present Andhra Pradesh stands no comparison with either the former Socialist Party or the old KMP.

More significant than this political development within the PSP is the change in the election strategy of the party. In 1951-52, both the Socialist and the KMP parties bade fair to be the massive alternative to the Congress and had entered candidates for the bulk of the assembly seats. In the present elections, on the other hand, the PSP, following the example of the Communists and some others in 1951-52, has narrowed down its field of election activity. While this change-over from extensive to intensive electioneering has yielded better results in terms of seats won, it has contributed to a decline in the total party vote. There were 1,799 Socialist candidates and 1,005 of the KMP in 1951-52, of whom only 202 were successful. As many as 1,692 candidates of both parties had then lost their deposits. The percentage of seats won by the two parties to the total jointly contested was as small as 7.2, though the percentage of their combined vote to the total votes polled was 16.4. In the present elections, on the other hand, the PSP has set up only 1,102 candidates of whom 199 have been victorious. This puts the percentage of success at 18, which means an increase of 11 percent in the number of seats won. The seats won by Dr. Lohia's followers have not been taken into account in this reckoning.

Further to corroborate the fact of improvement in the party's position, there has been a 50 percent decline in the number of deposits lost by PSP candidates. Moreover, the

party has also gained in numerical strength in the different legislatures. After the merger of the Socialist and KMP parties in 1953, there were 202 legislators for the PSP in the different State assemblies. Of these, nearly 50 were lost to the Congress and Dr. Lohia and there were no more than 155 PSP legislators in February last. Now the party has 199 members in the different State assemblies. In no State assembly, barring that of Kerala, has the party suffered in strength as a result of the recent poll.

While the PSP had to narrow down its field of election activity, the Communists have spread out from their pockets of strength. Therefore, a mechanical comparison of their voting strength in 1951-52 with that in the present elections will give a bloated picture of Communist strength. The Communists had contested 456 seats in the first General Election and won 107 of them, though their loss of deposits was equally high at 197. Of the 713 candidates the CPI has put up this time, 189 have been victorious. In other words, the percentage of success, in terms of seats, has declined from 43.2 to 26.5. The number of deposits lost by Communists has also nearly doubled now. It is true that when a party spreads out from its spheres of influence it seems to have suffered in strength and a margin should, therefore, be allowed for the optical illusion, as in the case of the PSP which has followed the reverse path of withdrawal into safe seats.

The Communist voting strength has no doubt registered a big increase but compared with the larger number of seats contested by them it is no landslide victory which at first sight it seems to be. They have more than doubled their vote, polling 9.85 million now as against 4.49 million in 1951-52. The percentage of their vote to the total vote has also gone up from 4.3 to 8.87. But they have contested 56 percent more seats now, which have yielded them about a hundred percent increase in votes. The net gain is, therefore, 40 percent.

The most spectacular of Communist gains has been in the new State of Kerala. Here again comparison with past record requires allowances to be made for the re-election in 1954 in the former State of Travancore-Cochin and, secondly, for the territorial adjustments leading to the formation of the present unilingual State of Kerala. The Communists had set up only 36 candidates for the 1954 re-election in Travancore-Cochin and secured 652,613 votes. In the Malabar region, which was then part of Madras, they had 18 candidates who had together polled about three lakh votes. Now the Communists had 100 candidates in the field all over Kerala, an increase of 85 percent in the number of seats contested. The corresponding increase in their vote has been from 9,22,536 in 1951-54 (there was no re-election in the Malabar region) to 21,56,012, which is more than double. The party has also raised the percentage of its poll to the total vote from 17.5 to 36.5. But the very increase in the seats contested from 54 to 100 should have increased their poll, unless there was loss of ground by the party, to 17,06,692, over which there has now been a gain of 449,000. This gives a net improvement of 26 percent in the voting strength of the Communists in Kerala.

The Hindi-speaking areas of the country, which hitherto showed no attraction for Communism, have in this General Election got over that aversion. The Communists have made their appearance on the legislative scene of North India, with almost a flourish. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh, where

(Continued on page 29)

Afterthoughts on the Indian Mutiny

By Hugh Tinker

LAST month's EASTERN WORLD contained a note on the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 which commenced by belittling the commemorative articles and books of both British and Indian historians, claiming that whatever the historians might contend, this was a "national armed revolt for political independence," a struggle "of annihilation between two antagonistic societies."

It is true that many of the commemorative articles have been noncommittal to the point of meaninglessness. The "re-appraisals" by British historians have added virtually nothing to the standard Victorian studies, and the general tone of Indian comment has been equally stereotyped (the new works by Surendra Nath Sen and R. C. Majumdar have not, however, been seen by the present writer). This hesitant approach may be due in part to the staleness of the subject: there really is not much new to be said on the basis of the available evidence. British accounts exist in profusion, but their emphasis is mainly upon military and administrative activities. Records of what individual Indians were thinking and saying are few and neglected. The social and economic background to the Mutiny, a subject of great significance, is almost a blank.

But the hesitation of historians is also a reflection of the complexity of the causes and consequences of the Mutiny, and a realisation that this century-old story is still dynamite, both in terms of British-Indian-Pakistani relations, and in domestic developments in the sub-continent. At the present time of strain and uncertainty in Commonwealth and international affairs, some historians are conscious that superficial, emotional "re-interpretations" of 1857 can only cause harm. For the Mutiny was not an episode that reflects much credit on anyone. Individuals behaved nobly, but too many yielded to blind, bloody racial passion. We cannot, unfortunately, forget the Mutiny, but at any rate we can refuse to be stampeded into exploiting its hates and fears for passing political purposes.

Last month's note adopted the easiest line of all in arguing that the Mutiny was the First War of Independence, the prelude to the national struggle of 1919-1947. No thesis is easier to disprove.

The Constitution of the Indian Union commences with a declaration of belief in equality and fraternity, and goes on to elaborate this belief in Part III, Fundamental Rights. But in 1857, all the leaders and most of the rank and file fought to recover some former special privilege based upon inequality and vested interest. The Muslims fought for the India of the Moghul Empire, of Islamic political and cultural pre-eminence. The Hindus fought in defence of the privileges of the superior castes, for the lands and dignities of super-

seded princes and landlords. The new, politically-minded middle class regarded the whole business as a betrayal of their hopes for a new India: the educated classes, the leaders of the future were almost unanimous in condemning the rising. Even at the centre of the vortex, none of the students at Delhi College joined the mutineers; one student only from Agra College joined the revolt. Several among the new intelligentsia were executed by the rebels as supposed instruments of the British. "The extent of the areas involved, the numbers of men engaged, . . . the strategic plans behind the moves—all show that this was a national armed revolt. . . ." so runs last month's note: but all the evidence combines to show the exact opposite.

If the revolt had spread throughout a wide area of the sub-continent, the British must have succumbed. They were able to restore order within a few months because the disturbances were confined almost entirely to the area between Delhi and Benares. The Bombay and Madras Presidencies remained unaffected. The Bombay and Madras Armies—although recruiting some of their soldiers from Oudh, the homeland of the mutinous Bengal Army sepoys—remained disciplined and steady, playing a part in the work of restoring order. Punjab, recently annexed after two fiercely fought wars between the Sikhs and the British, poured its men down to Delhi and Lucknow to fight the mutineers. The Sikh chiefs of the states to the north of Delhi lent their troops to the British. The peoples of Bengal proper watched the situation impassively. Even in the badly affected areas of Agra and Oudh the impact of the revolt was curiously unreal upon the lives of the ordinary peasants: the harvest was gathered, and next season, the land revenue was paid as usual. Because the revolt was strictly limited in area, sporadic in its intensity, the British with their very limited resources were able to control, and later to suppress the outbreak.

"The number of men engaged. . . ." These were only a tiny fraction of the population. At Delhi the mutineers comprised about 15,000 sepoys and perhaps the same number of irregulars; on the British side there were 8,748, of whom some 3,000 were sick. The final assault in September was carried out by a force of 1,700 British troops and 3,200 Indians. Seldom has such a large issue been decided by such small numbers of men. At Lucknow, where the mutineers concentrated after the fall of Delhi, the British attacking force under the Commander in Chief numbered 30,000 and the defenders totalled some 120,000. But even these forces were tiny compared, say, to those engaged in the battles of the American Civil War, five years later.

"The strategic plans behind the moves. . . ." Was the Mutiny the result of a deliberate plan? At the time, British observers believed it was, suspecting the Muslims as the main fomenters of the rising. As the political climate changed,

emphasis was placed upon the "loyal" Muslims, and the cause of the outbreak was ascribed to a number of vague discontents. Present-day British scholars still appear to reject the "conspiracy" theory, but this writer considers that evidence can be cited to show the existence of Muslim plans and preparations for revolt. The Moghul court at Delhi attempted to promote international opposition to Britain in Persia, Afghanistan, Burma and other countries that might nourish grievances against Britain. A more purposeful movement to eject the infidel was that of the *Wahabis*, Islamic Puritans, whose members infiltrated into the army and civil service and who provided some of the principal rebel leaders: for example, Subedar Mohammad Bakht Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the mutineers at Delhi, was a *Wahabi*.

But whatever prior planning was carried out, the revolt itself went forward only under a kind of momentum of anarchy. After the initial risings, the mutineers abandoned all initiative to the British, who, at first, were almost as unenterprising as their antagonists. Lord Roberts recounts in his autobiography how senile generals and brigadiers failed in command, sickened, died or disappeared; until at last John Nicholson, not 35 years in age, pitted his tremendous personality against seniority and lethargy to force through the assault on Delhi. Whatever tactical dash was shown in 1857 arose out of the emergence of similar junior British leaders. The mutineers were the slaves of the British methods of fighting they had learnt from their British drill sergeants. With colours flying and bands playing they advanced in line to attack: defeated in open battle, they had no other manoeuvre than that of retreat.

Study of the strategy of the rebels seems to lead inevitably to the conclusion that this was not a "people's war." Even in the actual area of the risings, from Benares to Delhi, the ordinary people did their utmost to keep out of the hostilities. In our own day, we have seen what has happened in Indonesia and Indo-China when Asians join together to fight against foreign rule. It has been shown how, in suitable country, untrained, lightly armed guerrillas can by infiltration and sabotage make the position of an alien army, however well armed and equipped, finally impossible. The tenuous communications of the British in 1857 up the Ganges plains would have offered perfect conditions for guerrilla operations, but in fact, small parties of reinforcements, or even unarmed convoys of supplies were able to pass through rebel territory with very little effort at interception. The mutineers' cardinal error was, in fact, that they waged war according to the book and having no capable leaders in the field they waged it badly.

Events in the Mutiny are of interest mainly to historians, but the consequences of the conflict are of continuing importance to the peoples of the sub-continent today. In the thirty years before 1857, the Government of India had pursued a coherent social and political policy of reform and reorganisation. Social legislation had abolished some of the abuses of the caste system and opened a way to those Indians who wished to break clear of caste. Administrative measures had been evolved to eliminate social scandals such as *thagi*,

and to reorganise Indian society for a wider life. A rationalisation of the map of India was taking place and the crazy-paving conglomeration of feudal states was giving way to a modern system of centralised administration. The Mutiny brought all this to a halt. The British became convinced that the outbreak had occurred because of the fears of the people that their religion was being undermined by the forces of reform: therefore, the policy of deliberate reform was succeeded by one of neutrality in religious matters, which amounted to upholding the *status quo*. The policy of annexation was blamed for the adherence of dispossessed princes and barons to the revolt, in contrast to the "loyalty" shown by the princes whose states had been protected against absorption, such as the Sikh states and Hyderabad. The policy of annexation was thereafter abandoned, and the princely states were guaranteed against absorption into British India, being regarded as bulwarks against popular unrest.

In consequence, India was, in many respects, "frozen" at that point in time and the India of 1947 was extraordinarily similar to that of ninety years before. The political map of the states was identical, except that one major state, Mysore, was actually returned in 1881 after fifty years of British rule to its former princely family. The result was a highly artificial situation. Three-fifths of India, the provinces, had passed through various stages of political experience to the threshold of parliamentary democracy. Two-fifths, the 562 states—some mere villages, some sizeable countries—were strung out on a long road from primitive feudalism to enlightened despotism. Within a few more years, the whole array had been forcibly integrated into the Indian Union, a process involving much administrative dislocation, two "weekend wars" in Junagadh and Hyderabad, and the apparently insoluble dilemma of Kashmir. Had the policy laid down in 1841 of "just and honourable accession of [princely] territory" been continued throughout the following century, it seems likely that princely India would gradually have been merged into the provinces, stage by stage, avoiding that sudden liquidation of 1947-9 which was, inevitably, neither painless nor perfect.

This obsession with the dictates of religion was, perhaps, most acute in the Indian Army—not unnaturally, in view of the largely military origins of the outbreak of 1857. The new Indian Army which emerged from the Mutiny was made up not of men, but of members of castes, tribes, and other "classes." Every army unit, however large or small, had a predetermined "class composition": an infantry battalion would consist of four class-companies, which might comprise one company of Sikhs, one of Punjabi Muslims, one of Pathans, and one of Dogra Rajputs. Only members of these particular communities could enlist in these particular companies. This system was characterised by critics as yet another manifestation of a supposed "Divide and Rule" policy. Divide and rule was, no doubt, a doctrine that the British in India with their slightly self-conscious comparisons with Imperial Rome did not overlook. But the present writer believes that, as so often with British "policy," it is only confusing to seek a subtle explanation of a simple fact: the British operated the class-company system because it was the

best way of ensuring that each of the different communities was left free to follow its own religion and customs.

Perhaps it is now more obvious why this centennial year is no great occasion for celebration: only those elements in India which hope to overturn Nehru's secular republic in favour of a communal, Hindu *Ram-raj*, or those in Pakistan who want to create a theocratic *Dar-ul-Islam* are likely to find unalloyed inspiration in the Mutiny. Besides, there is another side to the question. If those Indians who joined in the revolt were the true patriots, then those Indians who sided with the British must have been false. Remember: the force which took Delhi under Nicholson numbered 1,700 Britishers and 3,200 Indians; of the troops in the Lucknow Residency who withstood three months of desperate siege in a confined enclosure, 700 were Indian, 740 were British. Were these Indians traitors? Were the Indian magistrates and *kotwals* who kept at their posts "in the hour when heaven was falling" traitors? Coming nearer to our own times, were the Indian magistrates, police, and soldiers who did their unpleasant duty in the Congress rebellion, "the August Disturbances" of 1942, all traitors? Twelve years ago the Congress leaders said they were, and the names of the most active were placed on a Black List for future punishment. But after independence more statesmanlike views prevailed, and today those same magistrates and police officers in the posts of highest responsibility provide the "iron frame" that supports and sustains India and Pakistan.

The events of 1857 are "old unhappy far-off things."

No good purpose is served by resurrecting them today: only national arrogance and national hatred will be stimulated by reviving the story of the Massacre of Cawnpore, whether it be the massacre by the Nana Sahib or the massacre by Brigadier Neill which is in mind. But it is good to remember that, amidst all the horror, hundreds of anonymous Indian villagers sheltered fleeing British refugees; fed and hid them, when the penalty was instant death, and the only reward was a hasty scribbling of thanks upon a torn scrap of paper. That is another India, the India of kindness and gentleness and unbounded hospitality which, even in the darkest hour, revealed itself to English "Strangers in India."

And perhaps some Indians will not have forgotten, even in 1957, the record of the District Magistrate of Etawah in 1857. This district, right next to Cawnpore, was in the thick of the disturbances, but when order was restored and the reckoning came, only seven men in the district were executed: and all seven were tried in a regular Court, sentenced for crimes which, under the law, carried the death penalty. In after years the District Magistrate of Etawah rose to high position in the Government of India. Always he brooded over the circumstances which had led the men of 1857 to take up the sword: he came to believe that the people of India must be given a legitimate outlet for the enunciation of their grievances and wants. His name was Allan Octavian Hume, and in 1885 he founded the Indian National Congress: but perhaps his greatest moment was in 1857 when, with blind hatred all around him, he upheld British justice and mercy at Etawah.

Japanese Naval Rearmament

By Desmond Wettern



The Inazuma, one of the new Japanese frigates

ON paper Japan still has no Admiralty organisation. All Japanese warships are controlled by the Maritime Self-Defence Agency, which is a branch of the Defence Agency. The Defence Agency corresponds roughly with the British Ministry of Defence.

Any large scale expansion of naval strength would require alterations in the Constitution; unless the ships themselves remained under control of the Maritime Self-Defence Agency. In theory this should act as a brake on large scale naval re-armament as obviously it would be impossible to organise a fleet of large warships under the present Maritime Self-Defence Agency which is a small organisation and

bears no comparison with the wartime Japanese Admiralty in size or in tactical and administrative responsibility. However, a much more real and effective brake is the present reluctance on the part of the Japanese people to support a large scale re-armament programme or to consider diversion of revenues for social welfare improvements to defence. In addition it is very doubtful if the present economy would stand the strain of a large programme of naval expansion. In the years immediately after the war and until quite recently external defence was entirely provided by the United States. While today the US is still responsible for external defence the Americans now want Japan to bear a greater share of her own defence burden. No changes are at present contemplated in the Constitution which would allow an Admiralty organisation to be set up but there can be little

doubt that some change will have to be made in the next four or five years as the present naval building programmes, which give details of future construction up to 1958, provide for types and numbers of ships which could not be administered efficiently by an organisation which is merely a branch of a local defence organisation. The numbers and types of vessels under construction are evidently considered to be reasonably well within the resources that have and will be made available for defence and they should not excite too much parliamentary comment and opposition.

It is well worth while examining these naval construction programmes in detail. Since the war Japan has relied on two sources to supply the small craft required for local defence, police and coastguard work. A fairly large number of the Maritime Self-Defence Agency squadrons are composed of surplus war-built craft ranging from small auxiliary minesweepers and launches to small frigates. The majority of these are either unarmed or only carry a few small guns and their tonnage is usually well below 1,000. No weapons with greater offensive than defensive capabilities, such as mines and torpedoes, are carried in the majority of vessels and anti-submarine weapons are limited. The other source of naval craft is the US Navy, which, since the war, has supplied several old destroyers under Mutual Security Aid agreements as well as minesweepers, a large number of landing craft for use as gunboats and other miscellaneous craft.

Since the end of 1954, however, Japan has gradually been taking an increasing share of her own naval defence. In December of that year two 1,700 ton destroyers were laid down and both have now been completed. Their main armament of three 5in. guns was supplied by the US Navy. In addition three frigates were laid down at the same time. These vessels, which bear some resemblance to the new US Dealey class of destroyer escorts, have also been completed. Two minelayers, one of 950 tons and the other of 630 tons, three coastal minesweepers and a training ship of 1,120 tons were also laid down at this time and all have now been completed. The destroyers and the frigates are still referred to as "guard ships" however to conform with the idea that the Maritime Self-Defence Agency is still a limited organisation and is concerned only with local defence.

These vessels do not, of course, represent a major re-armament programme but they do mark the rebirth of a proper navy as opposed to a form of coastguard organisation even though the vessels are still classed as local defence craft. The addition of these vessels does not affect the administration of the Maritime Self-Defence Agency which remains a comparatively small organisation, but the time is fast approaching when it will be impossible to administer the large number of ships recently completed or being built without re-creating a full sized Admiralty organisation. By 1960-61 Japan will have a navy in the true sense and this will have to come under full naval control. Though even then this force will be small, the units in it could not, even in the broadest sense, be considered compatible with the requirements of a purely local and coastal defence force.

The 1954 programme provided for the building of seven 350 ton and three 60 ton submarine chasers and four

auxiliary minesweepers. The 350 ton chasers are now under construction. The 1955 programme provided for four further 1,700 ton destroyers and three 320 ton minesweepers. Last year's programme provided for two more 1,700 ton destroyers, a 1,000 ton submarine with an underwater speed of 16-20 knots, two auxiliary minesweepers and a rescue vessel. This year two more 1,700 ton destroyers, three minesweepers and a small maintenance ship will be ordered. In 1958 an 11,000 ton aircraft carrier will be ordered.

By 1960-61 all these vessels should have been completed and Japanese naval forces will include a high percentage of



Some Japanese naval craft acquired from America. They are each of about 230 tons and capable of 14.5 knots

modern vessels which, with various former American vessels including some destroyers, will add up to a fair sized force. In addition a recent report reveals that midget submarines are being developed. Admittedly former American naval craft now in service will be of doubtful value in 1960 as many are already becoming obsolete, but it seems likely that the US will continue to transfer various small units to Japan if only to save American manpower and ultimately defence expenditure.

Undoubtedly the ordering of a new aircraft carrier in 1958 is the most interesting feature in the list of future Japanese naval construction. Whether it will eventually mean the rebirth of the great carrier fleets of the last war remains to be seen but it will certainly mark the emergence of Japan as a naval power worth considering once more. Whatever one's views on possible Japanese naval expansion there can be little doubt that the presence of a naval force of balanced proportions in the Pacific, if the present political line-up continues, would have a sobering influence on the expansionist policies of certain countries. A strong Japanese fleet would also relieve the US Navy and should make stronger forces available in time of war to guard the vital North Atlantic supply lines. At the moment we have little to fear from the possibility of a rebirth of Japanese militarism. The reluctance of the Japanese people to devote any funds to defence and the still strong American influence in Japan coupled with Japan's traditional suspicion of Russia should ensure that we are never faced in our lifetime with another outburst of Japanese colonial expansion.

US—JAPAN: POLICY REORIENTATION

By **Hugh H. Smythe**

AT mid-1957 Japan *vis-a-vis* the United States enters upon a new type of relationship from that of the past dozen years. Although the June talks in Washington between Premier Nobosuke Kishi and President Eisenhower were projected along lines of adjustment in "basic thinking" rather than concrete changes in relations, according to Japan's head of state, while the White House reaffirmed this position saying the conference was "not for the purpose of negotiating agreements on any specific matters," current politico-economic developments presage that henceforth Japan is going to pursue a more independent and interdependent course.

New Policy Basis

Japan today is a prosperous nation and this has enabled her to contemplate a relationship with the US as an equal partner in everything but military matters. However, this latter is not disturbing because this Japan shares with other American allies but knows she has enough to offer the US geographically and logically to balance the lack of military capability. Her withdrawal from the West's collective security system would break what is looked upon by some Americans as democracy's "iron chain" of defences on the western salient reaching from the Aleutians to New Zealand, much of which "iron chain" parallels the Russian-dominated Iron Curtain countries. Her present prosperity has given Japan a new importance to America. She is now the largest single buyer of US agricultural products and over the entire range of exchanged merchandise purchases twice as much as she sells the US. Yet in spite of this, her world trade position is so good that should America withdraw such assistance as off-shore procurement and spending by American military personnel stationed in Japan, the latter's balance of payments position would go into the red by only some \$10 million, which is not a frightening figure in the present state of Japan's economy. Politically, Japan knows she stands in a most strategic position as regards both the Asian-African nations and the western powers, ties of one kind or another she has with both *blocs*. It should be noted, however, that in spite of these very positive considerations there is no sign of overconfidence in Japan. It is simply that this new basis provides her with a new and more solid foundation on which to discuss such items as the security pact and administrative agreement governing the stationing of American forces in Japan, internal and external defence matters, limitations on textile shipments to the US, relations with Red China, American occupation of Okinawa and other islands, an economic programme for South-East Asia, and the testing of nuclear weapons.

Security Problems

Early in May the Japanese Government Defence Council announced that it would strive for an "autonomous" defence policy but would continue to work through collective security arrangements with the US and UN, and made it clear that the present Tokyo Government had no intention at present

of divorcing Japan's defence policies from those of America. But it made plain that it did not intend to build Japan's indigenous forces beyond the contemplated 400,000 total strength by 1960 by refusing to increase next year's defence budget substantially despite considerable friendly persuasion by America to do so, and the Kishi Government shows here continued respect for opposition to any move to amend the Occupation-approved Constitution which forbids Japan to regain war-making potential. However, although in February Mr. Kishi said the Government would not permit the US to station atomic task forces in Japan, he said in May that under certain circumstances Japan herself might employ such weapons for self-defence, saying he did not believe it would be unconstitutional to do so. This would seem to reveal that Mr. Kishi is preparing Japan for a realistic change in her military approach, even though his sentiment is at wide variance with much Japanese public opinion.

Nuclear Bomb Testing

The whole problem of atomic war potential has created a real issue for Japanese leaders in their relationship with America and other western allies. They recognise the alarm of their countrymen, yet being hard-headed persons who must face up to the realities of the age, they must find a way to do what they must for the good of Japan in this nuclear era. In January her representative to the United Nations, Renzo Sawada, asked the organisation to take direct action to prohibit or limit the testing of nuclear bombs saying Japanese scientists and medical experts are "not quite satisfied" with American and British reports that radiation from such testing is not dangerous to human health, and asked at minimum that prior notice of such tests be given. In March the Government sent an envoy to America, Britain, and Russia to plead for a mutual ban on nuclear bombs and cessation of such experiments; in April there was talk in Tokyo of sending a "suicide sitdown fleet" to the site of British bomb tests around Christmas Island in the Pacific, although the Government came out publicly against such a venture. And at the same time a Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo in reply to a Soviet request to Japan to join it in a demand to halt further nuclear testing told Russia it must give "proof of good faith" to suspend its own testing. It also considered an appeal to the International Court of Justice at the Hague on the basis not only of harm to human beings, but especially on grounds that the radiation fall-out held potential damage to her fishing industry. In spite of all this, and the moral support to its cause received from pronouncement of West German scientists against German participation in atomic weapons development, and the voicing of sympathy to Japanese protests by Pope Pius XII in Rome, all three nuclear-testing nations have gone ahead with their programmes and the US rejected Japan's latest request to halt tests in Nevada carried out during May saying they are necessary to develop modern weapons needed to deter aggressor nation aims of world conquest. It is hoped on the part of America that some understanding of this position will be taken by Japan, especially since the US is on record of being willing to provide \$20 million to help set up an Asian

nuclear centre and the signing in May of an atomic energy agreement between the two nations under which Japan will get on loan four kilograms of enriched uranium from America. But this is yet unlikely to allay the fear of the Japanese masses who cannot forget the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Trade and Communist China

Although Japan today is in a prosperous condition economically, differences between the two countries in certain areas of activity continue to raise problems. Financial leaders in Japan have become worried over the excess of imports over exports and in January stopped the import of US agricultural products, and in May the Bank of Japan put a check on mounting imports by withdrawing foreign money, particularly dollars and pounds, on deposit with some commercial banks. At the time of writing the Japanese trade deficit is already \$616,516,000. American interests are cognizant of these developments in the economy of Japan and have told local cotton growers especially that they face a problem in expecting Japan to be a major buyer as in the past because one of Japan's real headaches is a shortage of foreign exchange. One positive step here was the negotiation of an agreement in February of a "voluntary" Japanese programme for restricting textile exports to the US. As another aid to Japanese efforts to prevent the current boom there from getting out of hand was Washington's action in May of cancelling further export licences for steel scrap. In order to offset such developments Japanese leaders are turning more and more towards possible aggressive "economic diplomacy" in South-East Asia and have set up an advisory Economic Diplomacy Discussion Council. This is a determined effort to solidify the commercial leadership of Asia temporarily lost by defeat in World War II. America has looked upon this development as a positive and healthy one and a step in the right direction, for Asia is Japan's nearest and most normal outlet for Japanese goods.

But the major concern still is the desire of Japan to trade with mainland China. Although in May Washington proposed to its allies relaxation of the embargo on trade with China to the extent of 160 items and this was well received in Tokyo, yet the limitations on "exception" goods made Japanese trading officials unhappy with the proposal, and there was some sentiment among them to abandon the present voluntary system of agreed controls and "go it alone". This feeling was enhanced by Britain's announced intention to adjust her present trade with Communist China to conform with those applying to commerce with the USSR. Peking has not been slow to take advantage of this sentiment in Japan and offered Socialist leader Inejiro Asanuma, during his spring visit to China, several things sure to appeal to Japanese public opinion. Mao Tse-tung took a tolerant attitude towards close US-Japan military relations, was willing to sign a non-aggression treaty with Japan "even before abrogation of the Japan-US security pact," discussed prospects for greatly expanded trade, and pointed out how Japan's present relations with America derogated Tokyo's sovereignty. This is looked upon as a real propaganda victory for Peking tending to make Mr. Kishi's Washington talks that much more difficult.

Okinawa

One continued rough spot in Japanese-American relations continues to be over the disposition of former Japanese-held islands, the Ryukyus and Bonins, but especially Okinawa where the US finds itself still embarrassingly embedded in the

colonial business having built it into a most formidable military bastion with every intention of remaining there a long time. Although Okinawans elected one of the most anti-US agitators, Kamejiro Senaga, as Mayor last December, America has tried to show understanding of the difficulties involved in problems concerning the huge base and to keep down unrest has restricted military land acquisition of scarce farm acreage there and on other Ryukyus, increased its rental payments to local land owners for property it uses for military needs, and is permitting some owners to continue crop growing on land it has rented but is currently not using. Daisuke Takoka, head of the Tokyo Government party special committee of Japan which visited the islands during the spring, recommended that Mr. Kishi tell Washington it ought to relinquish civil administration of Okinawa and permit the two countries to share defence responsibilities for it. Though it is unlikely the US is going to give up Okinawa in the near future, there is sentiment in America for a re-examination of its equivocal position there in the hope that something can be done to bring about a more suitable arrangement than now prevails and that continues to result in periodic upsurges of anti-Americanism. Here it is worth noting that the Japanese looked upon Russia's Tass statement in January on US use of military bases in Japan and other allied countries as pure bluff and the Japanese were not frightened by threats contained in the Moscow pronouncement.

Foreign Affairs

In general foreign relations between the two have continued on a most amicable basis. Such internal matters as Japanese efforts to alter the Occupation-sponsored Constitution, restore Emperor Hirohito as "Head of State" rather than just the "symbol," and revive the Shinto-based *kigensetsu* (Foundation Day) are looked upon as not within the purview of US interests, except indirectly. But Washington has looked with concern upon revived efforts of Japanese Communist leaders, using aid from the Socialist party, to influence Japanese opinion far beyond its party membership to foster policies and propaganda directed towards separating Japan from America. The US rejoiced at Japan's election to the United Nations but wondered at the terms of the Soviet Peace Treaty and because of its own position was not too pleased with Tokyo's intention to resume diplomatic relations with East European countries. Efforts of Tokyo to establish normal relations with South Korea, to take interest in Middle East developments, and to make relations with Asia-Africa-Pacific countries the "fulcrum" of Tokyo foreign policy have been well received in Washington.

Looking Ahead

Although Japan is moving into a more positive role in its relations with America, the former is still aware that in the current state of world affairs it must yet look to the United States for significant support. The continued tensions arising from US-USSR conflicts of interest in various parts of the world always hold the danger of war. Japan as yet is weak militarily and her real defence yet remains within the hands of America. The Japanese being realistic are not likely to do anything to endanger their position, and although little that is concrete will result from the Washington talks, yet these discussions will enhance Japan's stature on the world scene and, barring breakdowns in her economy, she will continue to forge ahead to strengthen her position so as to be able to negotiate on a really functional equal basis with the United States.

ASIAN SURVEY

NEHRU—BANDARANAIKE DISCUSSIONS

From Eastern World's Special Correspondent in Ceylon

DURING the last thirteen months, Ceylon has had its fair share of distinguished visitors. Kings, Princes and Prime Ministers have come here—at the average of one a month—to take part in the Buddha Jayanthi, commemorating 2,500 years of Buddhism. But no visitor has been so eagerly awaited, so spontaneously greeted during his short stay and so widely discussed on departure as Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

It was known that important discussions would take place between the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India. Every hour that could be spared from the Buddha Jayanthi ceremonies was spent in secret conclave. Even the four-hour journey to the ancient sacred city of Anuradhapura saw Bandaranaike and Nehru engaged in constant discussions in the sound proof, air conditioned compartment of the Government's special train.

In the minds of most Indians and Ceylonese was the much-discussed "Indo-Ceylon problem" which has vexed the minds of politicians since 1948 and proved an impediment to closer relations. Mr. Bandaranaike had once described it as a "problem of long standing, with a long history and many ramifications." There was no Indian problem before the dawn of freedom in India and Ceylon as all citizens of Ceylon were British subjects. And then came free Ceylon's attempts to define citizenship, the status of non-Ceylonese, particularly those of Indian origin, and the conditions governing their registration as citizens of Ceylon. Thus arose the Indo-Ceylon problem. The immediate question is the status of the several hundred thousand residents of Indian origin in Ceylon who are neither eligible for citizenship under the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, nor qualified for registration as Indian citizens under Article Eight of the Indian Constitution. And Ceylon's headache is far greater than India's for these "stateless" persons will be physically present here and engaged in occupations that might otherwise be taken by Ceylonese.

The two Prime Ministers met and issued a joint communique which stated that there were certain outstanding problems between India and Ceylon that yet await satisfactory solution. The statement continued: "The Prime Ministers feel confident, particularly in view of the cordial relations that exist between the two countries and their cooperation in so many spheres, that these problems can and should be solved satisfactorily to both countries."

Naturally, there was some disappointment voiced in the Indian and Ceylonese press that, in their joint statement, the two Prime Ministers had made only this one indirect reference to such an important and pressing problem. Mr. Nehru himself stated in the Indian Parliament on his return to New Delhi that no detailed consideration of the Indo-Ceylon problem took place in Colombo and that no fresh

assurances were either asked for or given. Therein lies a factor of importance—that this problem had in no way contributed to a deterioration of the friendly relations between the two countries, but that, on the other hand, the existing friendship and cooperation made the future solution of this problem possible. The joint statement also recorded the great measure of agreement in the approach of the two countries to "the problems of peace and world cooperation and their relations within the Commonwealth." And these were not mere fine words. They reflect the growing similarity of thought and action that have brought India and Ceylon closer to each other than they have been for centuries past. The reason for this is not difficult to find. Since the coming into power in April 1956 of Mr. Bandaranaike and his People's United Front, Mr. Nehru has found in Ceylon's Prime Minister a close and constant friend and colleague in Asia's fight for peace and justice.

Of greater significance, therefore, were the discussions and resultant accord in the sphere of international affairs. There has been a recognition of identity of interest on matters of far greater importance than the Indo-Ceylon problem. In the words of the Prime Ministers' joint statement, "They have served to clarify further and strengthen their understanding of these problems and the determination of their two countries to continue to adhere to and pursue the principles on which their approach is based." Let us then examine the problems on which this agreement has been achieved and then attempt to enunciate the principles on which the approach to these problems is based.

While appreciating that Ghana had attained independence and that Malaya was soon to follow, the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India presented a bouquet to the United Kingdom for acceding to the wishes of the peoples of these countries. They recorded their satisfaction at the opening of the Suez Canal for normal functioning, but viewed with deep concern the developments in some parts of western Asia (Middle East to the foreign offices of the western world).

The Eisenhower Doctrine has been viewed with great suspicion in this part of the world. The Prime Ministers voiced fears, which are also felt where military pacts and doctrines involving Asian nations are concerned, when they stated that the problems of the Middle East can only be solved by the peoples of the countries being left free to work out their own destiny in accordance with their own wishes. "Any imposition of an outside authority," the statement continued, "can only lead to continuing tension and an intensification of these problems." Mr. Nehru enlarged on this theme at a press conference held after the signing of the Eisenhower Doctrine seemed to him to be favourable, but that the military aspects vitiated the whole doctrine. On the

subject of the United Nations, the Prime Ministers stressed the importance of the world organisation in securing peace. They added that in order to function effectively, the United Nations must become fully representative of the world community. To this end they advocated the admission of the People's Republic of China.

The development of nuclear weapons by the great powers and the periodical testing of these weapons were the subject of many hours of discussion by the Prime Ministers who devoted three of the six paragraphs of the joint statement to this subject. They referred to the ominous catastrophe that threatens humanity if development and production of nuclear weapons continued and their use was not prohibited. An "earnest and urgent" appeal was made for the immediate suspension of these test explosions, pending their abandonment. "Such suspension," stated the Prime Ministers, "would not only limit the dangers that have already arisen and help in easing international tension, but would also lead to an effective consideration of the problem of disarmament." What are the main principles on which the joint approach to the above problems is made? They can be seen in the reaffirmation of faith in the five principles of international relations known as the Pancha Shila, which were embodied in and extended by the principles adopted by the Bandung Conference. It is with admirable precision that the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India have reaffirmed the Asian point of view on international affairs.

Ceylon

Civil Disobedience

From Our Colombo Correspondent

Volunteers are being recruited daily for the Federal Party civil disobedience campaign next month over the language issue. While the immediate aim is to force the Government to recognise Tamil as an official language along with Sinhalese, the larger objective is to achieve a federal union for Ceylon on a linguistic basis. How far the campaign will succeed is doubtful, but it will in no way contribute to the lessening of communal tension which has been a feature of Ceylon politics since the enactment of a law in May last year making Sinhalese (spoken by eighty percent of the population) the sole official language of the country.

The Federalists are disappointed that Mr. Nehru, the Indian Premier, who visited the island for the final Buddha Jayanthi celebrations in May and from whom they expected at least a word of encouragement, refused to talk at all on the language issue. Not once in his numerous speeches did he even refer to the matter.

Mr. Nehru also did not talk on the question of the one million Indians who are resident in Ceylon more than state that a solution to this problem will have to be found by friendly negotiation between the two countries. In other words, he hinted that the Indians should not join the Federalists just because the former's language also happened to be Tamil. This has taken much wind off the sails of the Federalists who had all along hoped to bring the Government to its knees by calling out a strike of Indian workers on the major revenue-earning tea and rubber estates.

Some Tamil leaders have come out openly against the civil disobedience campaign. Tamils living in Sinhalese areas are also opposed to the movement. They fear that if the federal idea becomes a reality they would lose the jobs and positions in life that they have gained after long years of effort. Despite these set-backs the Federalists are going ahead with their campaign plans. If the tempo with which some of them are working is taken as an indication, communal strife seems inevitable.

The Government, which is watching the situation closely, has sent troops to important towns in Tamil-speaking areas. The police force in these areas has also been strengthened. The Government has made it clear that while it has no intention of interfering in any peaceful demonstration, it would take all steps to prevent anarchy in the country.

India

Cooperative Farming

From A Correspondent in Delhi

A recent survey of India's agriculture estimates that seventy percent of the total farms are run by medium or small farmers. Under present living standards, this means that the medium farmer has only sufficient land to meet the essential needs of his family, and cannot afford to introduce scientific methods to improve his cultivation. The small farmer is even forced to take an outside job to supplement his income.

Under legislation aimed at reducing wide disparity in income, the number and size of large farms are being reduced, and will gradually disappear when a limit is put on the amount of land which a farm can own as is proposed in the current Five-Year Plan.

As the majority of India's population is employed in agriculture, it is necessary to raise the productivity of the land if the present standard of living is to be improved. This must, however, be achieved without causing additional unemployment. There is little spare land to resettle farmers or workers displaced by mechanisation, and it will be some years before this surplus can be absorbed into industry. Therefore, the expansion of India's agriculture is somewhat limited.

The other limiting factor is the farmer's reluctance to accept new methods, particularly if they are imposed on him. Thus, it appears that cooperative farming is the most satisfactory solution to India's agricultural problems. Voluntary cooperation between farmers is the only method of increasing the productivity of the land.

Cooperative farming is being encouraged by the Government which is providing financial assistance, technical advice, and credit and facilities for warehousing, transport and marketing. As farming conditions vary widely in different parts of the country no rigid theory of cooperation is at present introduced, but cooperative farming in other countries is being carefully studied so that the best methods will be used. India has no intention of creating large collectives and state farms.

In recent years, measures have been taken to provide facilities required for promoting cooperative farming. The Community and National Extension schemes have given

technical advice on scientific methods to an increasing number of farmers, and large funds are available to provide credit on easy terms. More than 5,000 warehouses are being built all over the country by Central and State Corporations. When a farmer places produce in the warehouse he gets a receipt which enables him to obtain credit from the banks. This means that he does not have to borrow money at high rates of interest to support him from the time of harvesting to the sale of his produce.

There are now more than 1,000 registered farming cooperatives in this country. A well-known example is that run by the Sewa Nagar Cooperative Society in northern India. Founded in 1950, this farm is of 565 acres and has 36 members. It is supervised by an elected managing committee and has tractors and bullocks. Twenty-seven of its members work on ploughing, sowing, harvesting and other agricultural operations, while seven members are responsible for the clerical side. Two members are widows, but they do not participate in the Society's affairs. Extra workers are employed by the Society during the busy season. Some of the farmers are also responsible for marketing, so that no middleman is needed.

The Society receives Government help in various ways. The managing committee can seek the advice of the local agricultural officer on such matters as the rotation of crops, the use of manures and other technical methods. The State Government provides subsidies and loans for specific purposes. The Government has paid the cost of equipping the Society's six wells with pumping equipment needed for irrigation. The farm has made such progress that it now supplies the Agricultural Department with pure wheat seed to distribute to other farmers in the area.

Moreover, the Society has built a one-mile road and is expected to meet half the cost for providing drinking water wells, a village school and a community centre. Of course, other farming cooperatives have done better while others have not achieved so much. But on the whole they have proved to be the most suitable units for improving the standard of living of the rural community without suddenly breaking away from traditional methods.

Malaya

Independence Imminent

From Our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

Malaya's popular "man-of-the-people" Chief Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, came full of smiles back to Kuala Lumpur from his third and final constitutional talks in London before this country becomes independent on August 31. And smiling he should be for he has just piloted Malaya over the last hurdle—the very touchy question of citizenship.

Speaking to 3,000 gaily dressed Malayans at the Kuala Lumpur airport, the majority of them Malays, the Tunku, as he likes to be called, told them with sincerity and feeling that although he had not obtained 100 percent of his demands at least he had got 80 percent. Citizenship in Malaya is so complicated that virtually anyone has to have a degree in international law before even attempting to understand it. Several Malayan Ministers will frankly admit that it is beyond them—and there is little wonder—because far from being clear cut it is the most involved subject

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that has had to be faced in this country.

Briefly, it comes down to this. When the Lord Reid constitutional commission report was published early this year, it recommended that written into Malaya's constitution should be the fact that dual citizenship was recognised. This was principally to give the tens of thousands of Straits-born Chinese (Chinese born in Singapore, Penang and Malacca under the British flag) a stake in this country alongside the Malays. And it must not be forgotten that many Straits-born Chinese are third and fourth generation. This was welcomed by the Chinese but the Alliance Party—comprising the three major political parties in the country, the United Malays National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Congress—came to the conclusion, by a majority vote, that the only way to build a strong, united Malayan nation from the hotchpotch cosmopolitan races now living here, was by the introduction of one citizenship and one loyalty. The Alliance Party, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman, said that only Federal (Malayan) citizens should be recognised.

It now seems that Commonwealth citizens (British subjects) will be allowed to retain this citizenship and at the same time become (if they have the necessary residential qualifications) Federal citizens, but they must give their whole-hearted loyalty to Malaya. Secondly, all children born after independence day, will become Federal (Malayan) citizens; and thirdly, Commonwealth citizens can be deprived of their Federal citizenship. The new ruling affects many Indians and Ceylonese—in addition to Chinese—who are British subjects but who have resided in Malaya for many years and have little or no intention of returning to their homeland.

During his stay in London, the Tunku was described by one or two leading British newspapers and magazines as the most pro-British of Asian leaders. There is no denying that this is a fair and honest opinion. In conversation, he will frankly admit that he is very fond of Britain and is only too anxious to recall the many happy years he spent there as a law student. However, the description irked many of the more junior members of his party, the United Malays National Organisation. As strong nationalists, they felt hurt that their leader should be labelled as pro-British and quickly came back with a denial.

In a leading article, the Malaya Merdeka (Independent Malaya), the official publication of the party, made it clear that Abdul Rahman was not, repeat not, pro-British. They asked their readers if a person who was pro-British would urge Malayanisation of the Government service, resulting in Britons losing their jobs; or if a person who was pro-British would forfeit a Government post (the Tunku, before going into politics, was a Deputy Public Prosecutor) to lead the people to independence?

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister kept "mum," neither saying he was pro-British nor that the magazine article was correct. In many respects this was a very wise decision because when all is said and done, it was only a storm in a teacup. Perhaps the most interesting announcement of late is that the Tunku himself will become Malaya's first Foreign Minister after August, a portfolio he will hold in addition to being the Prime Minister. This is not unexpected and has been warmly received.

Then, too, it has been announced that Malaya is to send to Australia as her new High Commissioner, soft-spoken, Mr. Gunn Lay Teik, a wealthy rubber magnate

from Kuala Lumpur, who has kept completely free from politics during the building-up towards independence. Mr. Gunn, aged 56, a third-generation Straits-born Chinese, whose only ties are with Malaya, was educated at Cambridge and is widely travelled. To Washington, as Malaya's first Ambassador, will go pipe-smoking Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, aged 42, who has been Minister for Commerce and Industry for the past 18 months and before that was Minister for Natural Resources.

Dr. Ismail is an excellent choice for the high Washington job. He is friendly and has a knack of getting on with people regardless of their race or colour. He is a doctor of medicine, having qualified at Melbourne University in 1945. The Chief Minister, in addition, intends to appoint diplomatic representatives to the Philippines, Japan, Cairo, Indonesia and Siam.

As people here now begin to count the days, instead of weeks, to August 31 (independence day), work is going ahead at a furious pace getting the capital ready to receive all its important guests. The Government offices and commercial houses, too, are being washed and painted in order that the capital should look spick and span for the occasion. Twenty-five thousand people will hear the actual declaration of independence in the new independence sports stadium now nearing completion in the heart of the capital. The Tunku himself will formally announce independence, accepting the handing over from the Queen's representative, which is likely to be the Duke of Gloucester.

Japan

Explosive Population

From Stuart Griffin

(EASTERN WORLD Tokyo Correspondent)

Some 90 million people crowd Japan's four main home islands—621 per square mile—which gives this country the world's highest population density. This density is 30 times that of Canada, 14 times that of the Soviet Union, and 12.5 times that of the United States. It is also ahead of such overpopulated nations as China and India and Indonesia.

Although a little less than half of the people are farmers, only 18 percent of the land is arable, and thus it is a question of too little food for too many mouths, even with two bumper rice harvests coming consecutively, in 1955 and again in 1956. An average Japanese farmer, tilling the soil with crude implements, one bullock, and the bare hands of himself, his wife, and his elder children, tills about one-eighthieth of the acreage owned by his counterpart in the United States. Pre-war, though he grew rice principally, the average farmer could not afford to eat the rice he grew. It had to be sold to keep him and his household of 5.3 people alive.

Before the Second World War there were 1,850,000 Japanese civilians resident abroad, the bulk in China and Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria, but including 219,570 in North America, and 239,839 in Latin America. Sizeable colonies of overseas Japanese lived in Hawaii, in the Philippines, in the South Seas, and on islands in the Central, South, and South-west Pacific. Post-war emigration started

up again in 1951 when approximately 52 settlers for the Amazon Valley in Brazil.

Certain prefectures—generally those grouped about Japan's famed and scenic Inland Sea—furnish traditionally the interested bulk of those who sought and seek a home away from the homeland. Official answers to a population problem that, while slowing down officially, still brings over a million new Japanese into the world each 12 months, are these, in order of operation: birth control, development of Hokkaido, and mass emigration. All three offer faint solutions at best, none is really being followed up successfully.

Birth control is opposed by the farmland masses who live in feudalism and ignorance and superstition. The farmers have always argued that the more sons, the more hands to till the soil, the more food available to the rest of Japan. Birth control is the ultimate answer but its momentum is not encouraging at this moment. Development of Hokkaido is a much-talked of solution, but practically speaking, it is beset with enormous difficulties. An entire article could be written on the subject of Hokkaido. Emigration is the answer that officialdom speaks of most loudly.

Since 1952, however, a mere handful—10,000 people—have gone overseas for the new, and, it was hoped, the more abundant life.

The planned emigration programme of the past five years is in the hands of the Federation of Japanese Overseas Associations, an organization with 34 agencies throughout Japan. It conducts "recruitment campaigns" for emigrants, supplies them with loans and conducts courses in the language and customs of their future home countries. The programme, however, is short of funds and ships to transport the emigrants. More important, it is short of places to send them. But that is a problem the Japanese themselves can do very little about. The nation staggers ahead with the increasing population crush. If unchecked, the 100 million mark will be topped by as early as 1965.

Australia

Asian Issues Paramount

From Charles Meeking

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

Politics in Australia have fallen into a sad state of decay, largely as a result of the Labour party's disintegration. Labour, in Opposition in Canberra, is rent with differences. It is disrupted by faction in Queensland, where in mid-June an election seemed imminent. Consequently, the only federal political issues arousing any public comment are the increased allowances being paid to Ministers and parliamentarians, and the higher salaries awarded by the Government to the top public servants whose dominance over policy-making is increasingly (and for most Australians, disturbingly) clear.

The Menzies Government obviously feels so securely entrenched by the absence of effective opposition that it can ignore or remain unaware of the public resentment on these apparently minor matters. It has failed to acknowledge any inconsistency between its insistence on repressive

financial measures (including a high level of taxation, which discourages American and other capital investment) and its own carefree and often offensive extravagance on Ministerial and official travelling and other spending. More importantly, it has failed to devote adequate attention to Australia's real problem, the relations of this thinly-populated country with its populous Asian neighbours during the next and decisive half century.

Contributions to the Colombo Plan and to SEATO military and antisubversion activities, and the establishment of diplomatic missions in Asia are far from a complete answer to this neglect. Parliament is given few opportunities of learning about Asian problems or of discussing possible Australian action on them. A few parliamentarians, although seldom on Government-sponsored visits, have been to some of the nearer Asian countries, but the general body of ignorance, in Parliament and among the Australian public, presents a serious menace for the immediate future.

Two illustrations can be given. Trade with and recognition of mainland China is still delayed by Government action. No Australian Prime Minister has visited Indonesia since that republic was founded twelve years ago. These are matters which both call for early and urgent action, but on which the Government may try to continue its policy of procrastination for as long as possible.

There are various excuses on China. One is that Australian reliance on American defensive aid in the Pacific makes it desirable to go along with the Washington rather than the London policy. The latest reason, never put forward officially, was that nothing should be done while a mission led by the Australian Minister of Defence, Sir Philip McBride, was in the United States trying to buy American weapons for the Australian services.

Relations with Indonesia present a different problem. The Government continues to support Holland on the West Irian dispute, Dutch Ministers and missions are obviously planning to expand Dutch defences in New Guinea, and some private Government members in Australia are accepting Dutch invitations to inspect the area. At the same time the public is not learning all the facts, because most newspaper reports on Indonesia come, for some curious reason, via a biased source in the United States, and do not offer any unprejudiced views of Indonesian policies and problems. In particular, Mr. Menzies has dodged his promised visit. Last year he had been about to visit Indonesia after going to Japan when the Suez crisis intervened, and he returned from the US to London and Cairo.

Then, a few months ago, he went to Japan, and returned home in an exhausting round of visits to Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Singapore and Australian New Guinea. He pointedly ignored Indonesia. It might have been claimed that this was due to the fact that Indonesia was then under martial law—but this fact did not interfere with the visit of the Russian leader, Mr. Voroshilov. In other words, Australia has indulged in acts not calculated to win either Indonesian friendship or esteem, although Indonesia's eighty million people live only a few hundred miles away from Australia's northern coast.

Many thoughtful Australians feel that these and other aspects of an almost non-existent Asian policy in Canberra call for reassessment of what Australia wants to see happen in Asia, and of what share Australia hopes to take in shaping those events. Anything would be better than a bland assumption that Asia doesn't matter to Australia.

Letters to the Editor

Sir.—In a paragraph in the Editorial of the June issue you wrote: "Asians cannot be expected ever to forget that, like the American H-bomb, the British H-bomb too was exploded in the Eastern Hemisphere".

The concluding part of the paragraph read that since the fallout from the "clean" British bomb is said to be insignificant, then it is hard to see why Britain should not carry on its remaining tests somewhere over the North Sea coast. This would at any rate place Britain on the same moral level as the Soviet Union which explodes its H-bombs over its own territory.

I should like to point out that: 1, Russia explodes her H-bombs in Siberia which is also in the Eastern Hemisphere

and is part of Asia proper inhabited by Altai tribes who are of the Northern Mongolia division. Russia then explodes her bombs not near Asia as the American and British bombs but on the Asian continent itself; and, 2, That the only true Russia is the Russia in Eastern Europe, Siberia and the central Asian Republic, which now form the Soviet Union, were formally independent Asian countries which were overrun by the old European Russia under the Czars.

It should be clear from what I have said that Russia, like America and Britain explodes her H-bombs as far from Europe and the white nations as possible. This then robs Russia of any moral right over America and Britain in this respect.

Japan has protested to Russia (as well as Britain and America) about "fall out" from Russian tests in Northern Asia. Since Mongolia and Manchuria (now North East China) lie between Japan and the testing ground, the peoples of China, Mongolia and Siberia must also be suffering from fall out but one never hears of China protesting to Russia over the tests. I know that Russia has helped China so much to become a great Power that perhaps in gratitude the Chinese and Mongolians do not like protesting, but that should not stop them facing facts about the H-bomb tests.

Finally, I agree with you that the British, and for that matter the American H-bomb should be tested over the North Sea or better still the Atlantic Ocean.

Yours, etc.,

A. R. B. ALI

Liverpool, 11.

THE POLITICAL MIND OF INDIA—continued from page 17

40 of the 43 Communist candidates had forfeited their deposits in 1951-52, the party has now entered 90 candidates for contest and won nine seats.

The Jan Sangh, which showed promise of emerging as the conservative party of India, has failed to make itself felt in the second General Election also. Being a Right-wing corrective to the ruling party, the Jan Sangh thrives when the Congress party takes a Left turn. At the time of the recent elections, in the selection of candidates as well as in several other respects the Congress showed itself to be free of its Leftish infatuation. The result has been cutting the ground under the feet of the Jan Sangh. In 1951-52, the Sangh had contested 717 seats and lost deposits in 485. The seats won were only 35. Now, though the incidence of loss of deposits is still high, the party has won 46 of the 570 seats it has entered candidates for. It represents a 3.2 increase in the percentage of success. Correspondingly, there has been a 2,100,000 improvement in the party's voting strength.

Summing up, the following political facts emerge from the election results: the PSP, though still the second largest party in the country, has ceased to be the *only* massive alternative to the ruling party which it was in 1951-52 and has become the biggest of the Opposition parties. Notwithstanding de-Stalinisation and Hungary, the Communists have made inroads into fresh fields and pastures new and have been the greatest beneficiaries from polarisation. The pace of polarisation towards the Communists is at least twice that in favour of the Congress. Kerala, where the Congress leadership assiduously worked for polarisation in the name of political stability, of the about 400,000 votes lost by the PSP, the Congress gain was only a few thousands, the rest having swelled the Communist vote. Similarly, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, which has for the first time fielded such a large number as 28 candidates, lost deposits in 20 of the seats and suffered a loss of about 300,000 votes. And the Communists have benefited by the eclipse of this splinter

Left party. As the Communist leader, Mr. S. A. Dange, pointed out, the Kerala electorate has responded magnificently to the call of Mr. Nehru to eliminate the smaller parties and repose their trust in the bigger ones!

Finally, if a political deduction can be drawn from the election results it will be that as long as the Congress persists in its ambivalence and tries to be the preserver of *status quo* and an instrument of change at the same time, the pro-Communist polarisation will continue. The country needs a Conservative party as much as an instrument of social change, one acting as a corrective to the other. The Prime Minister's party should choose to be one of these and give up hunting with the hounds and running with the hares. If it develops into a Conservative party, which it is ideally suited to, it will enable the emergence of a strong centrist socialist party with the PSP as the nucleus. If, on the other hand, the Congress goes the whole hog in hugging socialism, the Jan Sangh may still blossom into its conservative corrective.

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FROM ALL QUARTERS

UK Director of Information in Malaya

Mr. A. J. W. Hockenhull, formerly public relations adviser to the Government of British Guiana, has been appointed as Director of the UK Information Office which is being established in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. Mr. Hockenhull was serving in Singapore at the time of its fall to the Japanese and he was interned from 1942 to 1945. Up to 1952, when he was transferred to Cyprus, and later to British Guiana, he was Deputy Director of Information Services in Malaya.

Norwegian fishing boats for Travancore

A new type of 32-foot fishing vessel is being designed in Norway for use—mainly for trawling—in Indian waters off Travancore. Already many Norwegian 33-foot "prawn-trawlers" are in use in these waters, and 17 Norwegian fishermen, as well as 12 other Norwegians with their families, are stationed in Travancore to help and instruct Indian fishermen.

Pacific experts

Twenty-two Pacific experts in tropical agriculture, public health, and social welfare gathered last month in Noumea for the eighth meeting of the Research Council, the expert advisory body of the South Pacific Commission. The meeting lasted about two weeks, during which time the council shaped the Commission's work programme for 1958.

Most members of the council are technical officers of territorial administrations, with wide practical experience of Pacific problems. The recommendations that emerged from the meeting will be put before the next session of the Pacific Commission, due to open at Noumea in October.

Donkeys in Taiwan

The use of donkeys to facilitate communications in Taiwan's mountainous areas was demonstrated and taught to Taiwan (Formosa) aborigines last month by the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry. Thirty-nine donkeys are being distributed among 20 young aborigines, and the owners are being instructed in the construction of wooden pack saddles.

Japanese nuclear observations

The Japanese Government recently submitted to the United Nations Disarmament Sub-Committee its observations explaining the basic aims of the three-power (Japan, Canada and Norway) proposal on the prohibition or suspension of nuclear test explosions. The Secretary-General of the UN had informed the Japanese delegation to the UN that the Disarmament Sub-Committee had decided to invite observations or views on proposals deposited with the committee by various countries which were not its members.

Japanese miners in West Germany

The first group of Japanese miners to work in West Germany under an agreement signed last year between Bonn and Tokyo have arrived in the Federal Republic. The agreement concerned the employment for a period of three years of 500 unmarried Japanese miners in the coal mines of the Ruhr.

The agreement said the miners were to be between the ages of 21 and 30 with no less than three years' experience of underground work in Japanese coal mines. The purpose of the scheme is to add to their qualifications and widen their experience.

The mining companies in Japan who employed them have granted leave of absence, and will reinstate them in their former jobs when they return. In matters of general conditions and work and in standard of pay they will be treated in the same way as German miners. It is interesting that the Japanese miners have been authorised to transfer part of their pay home, subject to the usual currency regulations between West Germany and Japan.

Shipyard in West New Guinea

The Netherlands Minister of Defence, Mr. C. Staf, officiated at Manokwardi recently when the Konijnenburg shipyard was opened. It is the first of its kind in West New Guinea. This is indication that the colony is being developed in face of Indonesian pressure for its handing over to Indonesia.

The shipyard will be used to clean, repair, and even to build ships, thereby avoiding diversion of such work to Singapore, Hong Kong, Sydney and Brisbane. The new shipyard can handle ships up to 3,600 tons. It is claimed that it will give work to 250 local workers in addition to a number of skilled Chinese.

Transfer of British bases in Ceylon

In the course of further talk in Colombo in June UK representatives presented to the Ceylon Government the plans which had been prepared for the withdrawal of the British establishments at Trincomalee and Katunayake in accordance with the declared policy of Ceylon. Agreement has been reached on the timing and method of withdrawal.

The Royal Naval base at Trincomalee and the R.A.F. station at Katunayake will be formally transferred on October 15th and November 1st respectively. The withdrawal will be, in the main, completed in three years, though some facilities will remain up to five years. The Ceylon Government will pay a sum of Rs 22 million spread over five years for final assets of the British services to be taken over in the final settlement of certain claims arising out of the occupation, of disposal, of the bases.

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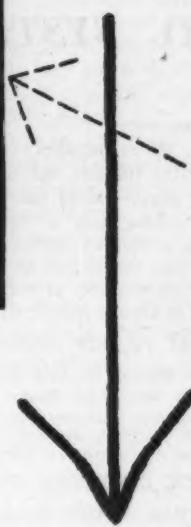
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Recent Books

INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Parliament in India by W. H. MORRIS-JONES (Longmans, 35s.)

It would be superfluous to waste space merely in praising this book which is clearly destined to be the classic account of the Indian parliamentary and political system. One hesitates to label Professor Morris-Jones as the De Tocqueville or Bryce of Indian democracy only because he is writing an entirely different sort of political study. Whether consciously or not, his work reflects the revolution in historical thought which has been brought about by Professor Namier's minute analysis of English politics in the eighteenth century, as well as the "mass observation" technique of studying post-war British elections developed by McCallum and others; and also, perhaps, the whole Gallup Poll approach to public opinion. That is to say, the author's conclusions are founded upon an intensive scrutiny of the Indian political scene in which the attributes of politicians and parties are minutely analysed, sifted, classified, and quantitatively assessed. Nevertheless, personal observation and interpretation still have a necessary part to play, and the result is a scientific survey which culminates in a

personal judgement.

This has its advantages: the reader is able to assess the evidence for himself, he does not have to accept the author's *ipse dixit*. Yet in less skilful hands than those of the present author, such a "quantitative" technique could easily lead to a blurred, diffused picture, without clear outlines, rather like the dazzle of dots one sees when viewing a newspaper photograph at very close range. But Professor Morris-Jones is always master of his material, and if at times the medley of evidence appears bewildering—for we are looking at a period of flux and stress—almost always he brings out the significant theme from the apparent discord.

In this review it is not possible to touch on more than a few of the author's themes: the natural assimilation of English House of Commons conventions into Indian practice and procedure; the building up of a responsible, alert spirit within parliament, despite (in some sense, because of) the predominance of one great party; the contrast between the sound working of parliament and government at the Centre, and the faltering and failing of some of the State governments—especially those newly created in former princely India: but these are random points from a wealth of information and comment. The author's final conclusion is that parliament has effectively taken root in India, and has established a tradition, a sense of continuity and permanence which bids fair to sustain the nation through the difficult years immediately ahead.

This work is far too closely packed with matter to make easy reading. The main sections describe the membership and make-up of parliament; party organisation and discipline; procedure and privilege; the Speaker, the parliamentary secretariat, and the committees; and finally, the purpose and achievement of parliament. Besides, there are valuable features in the footnotes and appendices: statistical data, long extracts from the Indian Constitution, reports of debates in Indian legislatures from 1862 and 1952, and much else beside. It is a slight weakness that the index does not adequately reveal to the reader the whereabouts of all this useful reference material.

As this reviewer read his way through *Parliament in India*, he began to fancy that he detected stylistic echoes: the phraseology seemed uncommonly like that of, say, the Simon Report on constitutional reform: judicial, anonymous, austere, olympian. Perhaps all the reports and proceedings of the innumerable commissions and committees which the author has consulted were in his mind, echoing in precise, modulated, official tones, as he drafted his pages. Yet it is evident from the relaxed, sometimes gently satirical asides which Professor Morris-Jones occasionally permits himself that he has another style of thought and writing at his command. May one hope that, having produced the present compendious guide to Indian parliamentary practice, an essential piece of equipment for all students of

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Indian affairs, he may go on to assume the mantle of an Indian Bagehot: to write a reflective, discursive essay that will illuminate the spirit, the essence of Indian democracy in the mid-twentieth century?

HUGH TINKER

Easter Island by ALFRED METRAUX (André Deutsch, 21s.)

The author of this book published a large monograph in 1940 on the ethnology of Easter Island, based upon his expedition there in 1934. This latest volume is an attempt at covering the same ground for the ordinary reader. He succeeds admirably, and there is a notable absence of what he himself calls "scientific paraphenalia."

The origin of the culture of this small island in the south of the vast Pacific Ocean has been the subject of much speculation by anthropologists and archaeologists. Dr. Metraux tries to reconstruct its former civilization and to throw some light on its past in relation to its present, and he disputes the theory expounded by Dr. Thor Heyerdahl (of Kon-Tiki fame) that the original Easter Islanders came from the region of Peru in South America. Dr. Metraux uses persuasive arguments to show that they could have come from central Polynesia—most likely from the Marquesas Islands.

O. G. FLINT

Social Insurance in India by V. JAGANNADHAM (International Educational Publishing House, Amsterdam. 10s. 6d.)

This study, as its title implies, is limited to social insurance—not social security, which is much more comprehensive. The author realises that the great problem in India is that of mass poverty, the abolition of which cannot be effected by social insurance alone. It is not so certain, however, whether he realises that the basic remedy lies in raising productivity, on which all social welfare schemes must rest. The "magic of averages," i.e. the insurance principle, to which the author refers, is not enough—there are too many "have nots" in India for a mere redistribution of income to have any effect.

The systems of social security in England and in the Netherlands are surveyed. At its present economic level India cannot aspire to have social benefits on a European scale (considerable portions of industry and the whole of agriculture are excluded from the present scheme), but these remain a model and an objective. An excellent work in its own (though narrow) field.

L. DELGADO

1200 Chinese Basic Characters by WALTER SIMON (Lund Humphries, 21s.)

This, the third revised edition of the valuable introduction to Chinese, based on the *Pyngmin Chian Tzyh Keh* prepared for Chinese use, incorporates in the body of the book all the corrections previously listed in an appendix. There is, further, a new appendix giving full details of the "Draft Scheme for a Chinese Phonetic Alphabet," published in Peking in February, 1956.

The introduction is clear and well-documented. Professor Simon has the knack of communicating his own enthusiasm for his subject to the reader. Various concordances and a full index make this compact yet comprehensive manual available to all students whichever system of transcription they use. The original foreword of recommendation by the indefatigable Wang Yun-Wu is reprinted in this new edition.

N.W.

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China and The Cross by COLUMBA CARY-ELWES, O.S.B.
(Longmans, Green, 25s.)

Within little more than 300 pages the author, a Benedictine monk, has accomplished a monumental work. It is the outcome of twenty years of study and research.

His reason for embarking on this immense task was simply that the story to be told was both important and outstandingly interesting. He is justified in the result.

To read these pages is to marvel at the tenacity of the missionaries, their skill, their endurance, and, perhaps above all, their faith. The story goes back to the very distant past, back to the Apostle St. Thomas and the legend which still persists in the East that he reached China by way of India. In the absence of factual evidence, the author finds the case for St. Thomas "non proven." In his view the honour of being the first missionary to China belongs to Alopen, the seventh century missionary from Syria.

The subsequent pages are fascinating. To study the happenings recounted in them is to resurrect great periods of history of the Middle and Far East which are generally ignored by westerners—the eastern thrust of the Muslims, the rise of the Mongols, the Portuguese conquests in eastern waters, the travellers of every century across the tracks of Asia or over the eastern seas. The assertion that Christian missionaries have been wasting their time, that, in fact, Christianity is not suited to the eastern mind is contested by Father Cary-Elwes. He argues that the reasons why "the marriage of true minds" has not yet been consummated must be sought elsewhere, in political impediments, wars, difficult communications, in misunderstandings, persecutions and the like.

It is here that the reader may feel that the author has missed the most important point—the fact that even in Europe, and still less in the Far East among the western trader, soldier and statesman seldom practises on Monday what the western missionary preaches on Sunday.

Be that as it may, much that is to be learned about the people and culture of China can be learned only from the missionaries and Christian ministers who, from the Nestorian mission thirteen centuries ago up to the coming of Communism in the last twenty years, have played an increasing part in Chinese life and the formation of Chinese opinion. Father Cary-Elwes has delved deep into their writings. For that reason, if for no other, this book is invaluable.

J. FINBAR GRACE

Kalhana: Poet-Historian of Kashmir by SOMNATH DHAR (Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, India; 62 Queen's Gate Gardens, London, W.2. 2s. 3d.)

Indians are today engaged in rediscovering their own history, a task to which Mr. Dhar has contributed in this lecture, given to the London Branch of the Indian Institute. He has three earlier books on Kashmir to his credit, one of them with an introductory essay by Mr. Nehru. In this booklet, the author discusses a priceless heritage of India with restraint and objectivity.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, "River of Kings", is a chronicle of Kashmir from the days of Asoka to the twelfth century, in which the author lived. In some 8,000 verses of high literary merit, it records the rise and fall of ruling Kashmir dynasties extending over fifteen centuries. The *Rajatarangini* has long been prized by both Indian and foreign scholars, both as a Sanskrit classic and as a history

of unusual fidelity to dates, facts, and the social and economic condition of the people.

To well-intentioned people unaware of the extent to which Kashmir has always been an integral part of India, this study of Kalhana is a valuable reminder. Mr. Dhar's lecture illuminates the continuity of past and present in the relations between Kashmir and India.

K.P.G.

Recent Developments in Maternity and Child Welfare in India by DR. SARYU BHATIA (*The Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, India, Rs.1*)

"India's children have love, affection and parental security", says Dr. Bhatia. As adviser in Maternity and Child Welfare to the Government of India, Dr. Bhatia briefly describes the progress made in recent years in her field, giving full recognition to the help rendered to India by the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the Colombo Plan, all of which supported the national effort under the First and Second Five-Year Plans. In spite of the achievements in these fields, however, much still remains to be done. The author pleads the need for more research and study, not least into the social and mental needs of children.

P.W.

Money in British East Asia by FRANK H. H. KING. Colonial Publication No. 19 (*HMSO, London, 13s. 6d.*)

There has been no want of detractors of the monetary organisation of British territories in East Asia, some mischievous and some simply ill-informed. The main criticisms are three in number: that the close financial ties between these territories and London prevent real economic freedom; that the sterling balances that these countries hold nullify, in effect, UK assistance; and that British banks have not taken an active part in providing capital for native enterprise.

This publication, by giving a detailed factual explanation of the financial system of the territories in question, constitutes a refutation of these arguments. As is true of all under-developed areas, none of these countries has yet reached the stage when it can by itself create the capital required. As the capital has thus to be raised abroad — and London is the cheapest and natural market — the ordinary contractual obligations between debtor and creditor must properly exercise a restraining influence. With regard to British banks in South-East Asia, we must remember that their function is rather to finance the movement of goods and not to provide longterm capital, which is the responsibility of the shareholders of the industries concerned. As to membership of the Sterling Area, we should note what this report has to say now that the embargo on the China trade is eased.

The detailed analysis of the monetray equation that we find in this work must not lull us into a belief that the economic system is self-correcting — that by opening the valve of greater production in some monstrous machine we can, for instance, ease the pressure caused by inflation. This may be so, but the economic system is not as impersonal as it is often thought: in economics we are dealing with human beings. And, moreover, money is more than a mere medium of exchange: it is an independent force in the economic system, a factor that the quantity theory tends to ignore.

L. DELGADO

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Economics and Trade

INDIA'S LONG-TERM REQUIREMENTS

By V. Wolpert

THE financing of increased imports for the execution of the Indian Second Five-Year Plan has become an acute problem. It should, however, not be taken as an isolated problem. India's Five-Year Plans, their aims and fulfilment, are not simply blueprints, known only to a small circle of government officials and other initiated persons. These Plans have become an integral part of the entire nation's life, which it is sometimes difficult for westerners to comprehend. There is a fundamental difference between a slogan like "to double the standard of living within 25 years" which is vague and does not mean anything to an ordinary citizen, and a Plan which sets exact targets for production, consumption, social services and so on, for the whole country and for the various regions, and which has an immediate effect on the life of every family.

The Five-Year Plan has fired the imagination of the

Indian people and has evoked their enthusiasm. It has also shown once more the democratic character of the Indian state. Therefore the ultimate success of the Second Five-Year Plan transcends the very important economic aspect of the Plan, and every delay in its execution, or even its watering-down, would bring unforeseeable adverse consequences.

Taking into consideration the low standard of living of the Indian people and the low level of the country's industrial development, there is no doubt about the necessity for a rapid improvement in economic conditions. Controlled deficit financing is not to be considered as unhealthy. The history of industrial development of countries in the West shows that foreign capital was instrumental in such development. The development of the United States—at least up to the First World War—provides one of the best examples for this. But two questions or difficulties arise in this connection in the case of India.

(1) There are at present more claims for development (investment) capital put forward by various countries, including by highly-industrialised countries, than the amounts offered in the world's main financial centres.

(2) Private capital selects for investment projects which promise highest returns coupled with greatest security, and often tends to choose neighbouring countries, the condition of which are better known to the investor than the condition in the far-off countries. Some acts of nationalisation carried out by under-developed countries (e.g. Suez Canal) have adversely affected the climate for investment not only in the countries concerned but for all under-developed countries.

It is to be hoped, that—on the basis of India's record—it will be possible for the Indian Government to secure a loan which would safeguard an uninterrupted flow of goods required for development projects. The Indian Government is fully aware of the difficulties concerning the financing of the Second Five-Year Plan (which in the long-run, i.e. when the development projects will be completed, will lead to an improvement of the foreign trade position) and is not shrinking from unpopular internal measures. In the field of securing immediate higher earnings there is at present still room for methods which raise the levels of Indian exports by improving the conditions for exports.

In the field of imports the large-scale requirements of the Indian economy which are creating financial difficulties at present represent—strangely enough—an asset for India at the same time. The manufacturers and exporters of industri-

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lised countries realise the importance of India as an actual and a potential market. And the severe competition for securing orders from India among manufacturers of capital goods, which at present have a good outlet all over the world, is good proof of this attitude. The confidence in the situation in India can be also seen from the fact that the number of leading western industrial concerns which embark on the establishment of production facilities in India itself is growing steadily.

During the last nine months of 1956 India's trade deficit reached the figure of Rs.1,622 million (over £120 million) as against a trade deficit of Rs.422 million during the corresponding period of 1955, and of Rs.723 million during the whole financial year, April 1955-March 1956. Increased imports of capital goods for the execution of development projects are the main reason for this trend which continued in 1957, and has led to a decrease of India's sterling balances from £630 million to £340 million during the last 15 months. In addition India has used up the \$200 million (about £70 million) credit which was granted to her by the International Monetary Fund.

The following table shows the development of India's foreign trade with the main industrial countries of western Europe, the US and Japan. India's imports from these countries—with the exception of the Netherlands—accounted in 1957 for a higher share of the increased total imports than in 1955. United Kingdom remained the largest supplier of India, but West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Japan considerably increased their share of India's total imports.

	India's Exports		India's Imports	
	1955	1956	1955	1956
	April-December		April-December	
Global figures	4,362	4,302	4,823	5,975
United Kingdom	1,176	1,356	1,215	1,550
West Germany	113	106	434	646
Netherlands	116	80	108	108
Belgium	67	50	76	109
France	53	47	118	151
Switzerland	7	6	84	126
Italy	51	47	126	218
Japan	211	204	251	342
United States	672	644	667	706

(all figures in million Rs.)

The 1956 imports included machinery of all kinds valued at Rs.1,158 million as against Rs.859 million during the corresponding period of 1955. Imports of iron and steel and manufactures thereof increased from Rs.425 million during the last 9 months of 1955 to Rs.984 million during the corresponding period of 1956, and imports of other metals increased during the same period from Rs.184 million to Rs.288 million. Large increases occurred in imports of vehicles, chemicals and various electrical goods. The latter (electrical machinery excluded) increased from Rs.108 million to Rs.154 million.

It is significant that in the export field the value of India's exports to UK show an increase but that to all other above-mentioned countries India's exports in 1956 were smaller than those of 1955 which has led to an increased trade deficit with these countries.

Attempts are being made to increase India's direct

exports to various countries to achieve a more balanced trade. During the last nine month periods of 1956 India's main exports included tea valued at Rs.1,082 million, jute yarns and manufactures thereof valued at Rs.890 million, cotton yarns and tissues Rs.462 million, metallic ores and scrap Rs. 192 million, oils (vegetable, mineral and animal) Rs.150 million. But in fact only the exports of tea have shown an increase compared with the 1955 exports.

According to UK statistics the trade between Britain and India developed as follows:

	UK Imports	UK Exports
1952	114.7	112.6
1953	113.4	114.5
1954	148.4	114.8
1955	159.0	130.2
1956	141.5	167.8
1956 first 4 months	48.7	55.3
1957 first 4 months	66.6	62.7

(all figures in £ million)

This table shows that the trade in both directions has been increasing and it appears that the 1957 trade will reach a new record. UK exports during the first four months of 1957 included those of electric machinery valued at £8.3 million, machinery (other than electric) £16.1 million, iron and steel £6.4 million, non-ferrous base metals £1.3 million, manufactures of metals £5 million, road vehicles and aircraft £5.5 million, and chemicals £7.1 million.

Recently the Indian Government instructed private importers to purchase capital goods at long-term credits, that is, over a seven-year period. Many industrial enterprises are not able to grant such long terms out of their own financial



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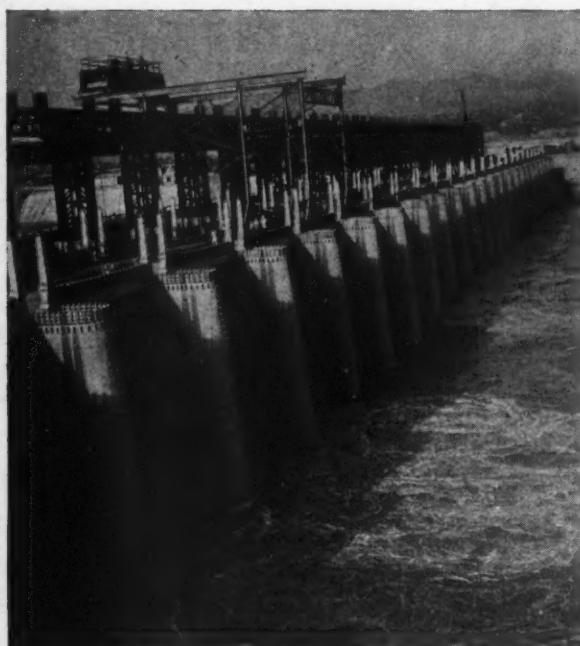
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One of the new schemes which is taking shape under the Indian Five-Year Plan is the Nangal Dam in the Punjab

resources and due to the fact that the demand for capital goods is very great from various industrialised and under-developed countries, it appears that the Indian request for such long credit terms will meet with opposition from manufacturers in various countries. It should also be taken into consideration that it would not be always the industrial concern which could supply the most appropriate capital goods to India which would be able to offer these terms and, therefore, the importers might be compelled to order equipment not of the very best.

It is to be hoped that it will be possible to find a compromise which would lead to India's securing the most appropriate goods she requires.

The following table shows the development of India's trade with countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has achieved a position as an important trading partner of India. It is significant that not only India's imports but also her exports to that area have increased in 1956:

	India's Imports		India's Exports	
	1955	1956	1955	1956
	April-December		April-December	
Soviet Union	...	21	108	19
Poland	...	4	21	2
E. Germany	...	3	2	0.2
Hungary	...	2	6	0.5
Czechoslovakia	...	18	52	6
Bulgaria	...	0.3	2	0.1
Rumania	...	3	2	0.1

(all figures in million Rs.)

India's trade with China shows that while India's imports reached Rs.59 million during the last nine months of 1956 as against Rs.19 million during the corresponding period of 1955, India's exports to China decreased from Rs.54 million to Rs.27 million during the same periods.

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MORE TRADE WITH CHINA

By Our Economic Editor

THE announced decision by the British Government to bring the embargo on exports to China into line with restrictions governing the exports to the Soviet Union, which has been advocated by this magazine for years, has been welcomed by British industries as an important step for an increased trade with China.

The UK decision was made after protracted discussions at CHINCOM where, due to the US attitude, no agreement on simultaneous abolition by all members of CHINCOM of the "differentials" was possible. In fact, some members of CHINCOM went as far as to demand making the Soviet embargo list more stringent and only then by liberalising the remaining items on the China list to establish a uniform embargo list. The UK Government is to be congratulated on its refusal of all these suggestions which would have been harmful to international trade and to British industries. The decision was hailed in many capitals of Europe and Asia, and Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have followed suit by easing the China trade embargo since. It is expected that most of the other CHINCOM members will announce similar decisions shortly. In Japan the announcement was postponed at least until after the visit by the Prime Minister, Mr. Kishi, to Washington. But there is

little doubt that Japan will refrain from any possibility of increasing her trade with China. West German industries exercise a strong pressure on their Government for the abolition of the "differential" embargo. The influential *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* described Britain's decision as a policy of adaptation at a right time and of doing "the right things if possible one moment earlier than others do it. . ." A powerful West German business delegation intends to visit Peking this autumn.

From the Chinese point of view the relaxation of the embargo presents a possibility for the diversification of her foreign trade. Over the last few years approximately 80 percent of China's foreign trade has been conducted with the Soviet Union and other countries of East Europe, and a greater share of trade with countries outside the Soviet orbit would be advantageous for China's national economy.

China possesses sterling funds and the establishment of a Chinese trade office in London, on the lines of the Soviet Trade Delegation in London, would assist the promotion of trade. I understand that the Chinese authorities are considering the opening of such an office, particularly as their office in East Berlin has been closed some time. If British authorities showed more interest in this project it would

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accelerate its establishment. UK trade with China, which has been considerably smaller than the trade of some other CHINCOM members, has developed as follows:

	UK imports from China	UK exports to China
1952	...	3.0
1953	...	10.2
1954	...	9.0
1955	...	12.3
1956	...	12.6
1956 first 4 months	...	3.3
1957 first 4 months	...	4.7
	(all figures in million £)	

It is difficult to assess at the time of writing even the approximate amount by which British exports to China may rise following the relaxation of the embargo, but there is little doubt that such exports will increase. The tempo of the increase will depend to a great extent on individual British manufacturers and exporters. Shortly before the liberalisation of the embargo a Chinese high official told a British visitor, that he was out of touch with many British products and their development, as these engineering products were on the embargo list. It is now up to the manufacturers of various industries, the goods of which can now be exported to China, to introduce their products to this potentially very large market. These goods include certain types of internal combustion engines, motor cars, electric machinery, rolling stock, tractors (in the past only a small number of tractors were exported under an exemption scheme), machine tools, scientific instruments, as well as various goods of the chemical, rubber and metal industries. It is significant, that

the Soviet Union has been importing several of these goods, including machine tools, electrical equipment, etc., from Britain and other west European countries, which may be an indication that China will in due course also show interest in purchasing these goods. It would be a help if the British authorities would secure from the Chinese Government a "shopping list" showing the Chinese requirements.

Exporters to China will now watch the embargo regulations to the Soviet Union (as they are the same as to China) with increased interest, and in this connection it is noteworthy that Mr. J. B. Scott, the Chairman of the Russian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, in a recent speech drew attention to various "anomalies" in the embargo list. The abolition of these "anomalies" would create additional possibilities of exports to the Soviet Union, . . . and from now on also to China.

The liberalisation of trade with China applies also to North Korea, North Viet Nam, Tibet and Macao. Advantage should be taken of the new regulations to negotiate with the respective authorities for promotion of trade with these countries.

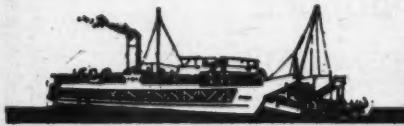
Mr. Pak Yung Pin, North Korean Deputy Minister of Internal and Foreign Trade, declared that his Government "is very much interested in trading with Britain." He added that the North Korean Government is ready to start trade talks with Britain at any time at a suitable place if Britain desires it. He declared that Korea might import machinery and other industrial equipment from Britain and export mineral ores, agricultural and handicraft products to Britain.

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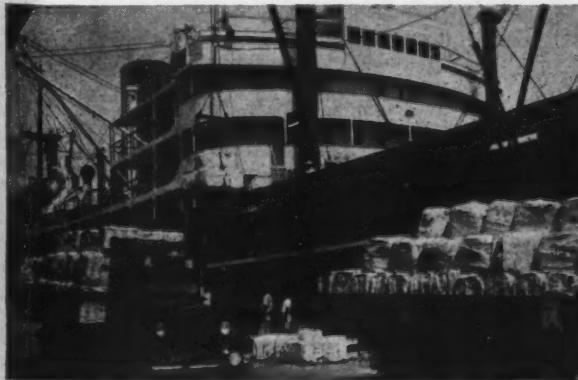
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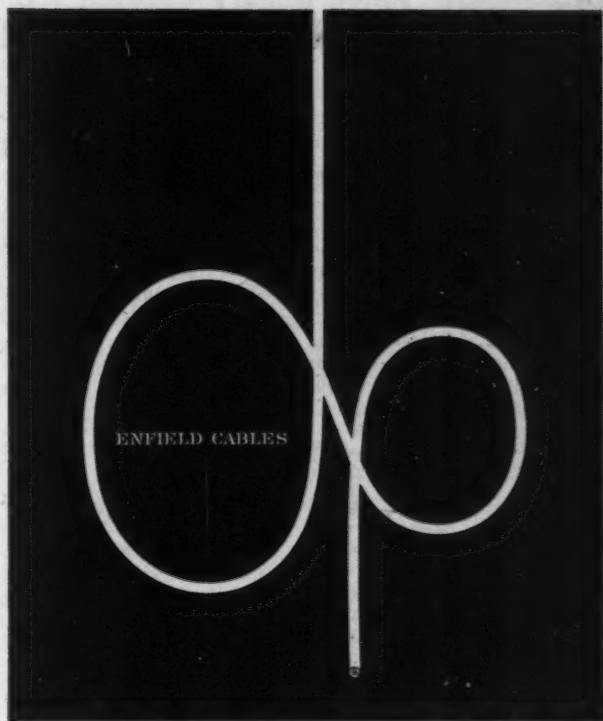


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INDIA'S IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

By Our Special Correspondent

THE Industrialisation of every country leads to a sharp increase of iron and steel consumption and, in fact, the degree of a country's economic development can be measured by consumption of iron and steel per head of the population. In the case of India the Government has decided to increase the indigenous production and the second 5-year plan has fixed as a target for 1960-61 the annual production of finished steel at 4.3 million tons and the production capacity at 4,680,000 tons per annum. The increased production is to be achieved mainly by the construction of the 3 steel plants (Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur), and the latest reports indicate progress made at these projects.

The following table shows the development of the output of India's iron and steel industry:

	1950	1952	1955	1956
Pig iron	1,562	1,685	1,757	1,807
Direct castings	98.4	129.6	126.0	122.2
Ferro-Alloys	18.0	40.8	12.0	28.6
Steel ingots & metals				
for castings	1,438	1,578	1,704	1,738
Semi-finished steel	1,142	1,308	1,457	1,485
Finished steel	1,004	1,102	1,260	1,316

(All figures in 1,000 tons)

Due to the very small production in India itself and in

connection with increasing requirements for metals and ores, India has to increase her imports of these goods. The total value of imports of metals and ores reached Rs 1,279 million during the last 9 months of 1956 as against Rs 609.2 million during the corresponding period of 1955.

Imports during the period April - December 1956 included iron to the value of Rs 17 million (including pig iron — Rs 16 million), steel — Rs 343 million (as against Rs 67 million during the corresponding period of 1955), manufacturers of iron and steel — Rs 632 million, aluminium — Rs 39 million, brass, etc. — Rs 14 million, copper — Rs 122 million, lead (excluding ore) — Rs 22 million, zinc — Rs 46 million, and tin — Rs 31 million.

Italy's Trade with China

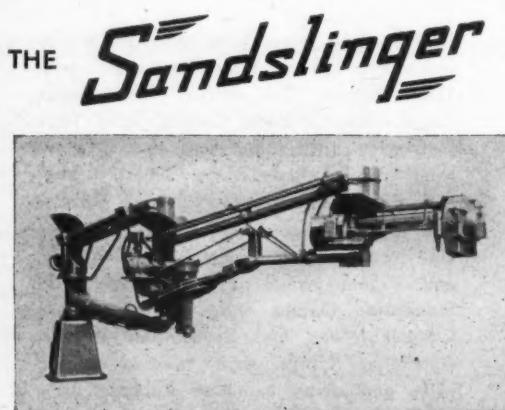
By Alvise Scarfoglio

(EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Rome)

THE British decision, to partially lift the trade restrictions with China, was welcomed by Milan trade circles. *24 Ore*, Italy's most important economic daily commented on it very favourably. *24 Ore* is notoriously the organ of the Montecatini and Edison groups. Despite its decided anti-Communism, it has been leading the campaign for a trade agreement with People's China, and gave only objective, if broad news of the trade agreement concluded between Formosa and Italy at the beginning of this year. The editorial centred upon the fact that, trade between China and Europe going mainly through Russia, meant that Russia was pocketing large middleman's profits on European-Chinese trade. The editorial urged upon removing politics from Italy's foreign trade directives, and upon the importance of helping China to free herself from the Russian mortgage.

On June 9, a conference took place in Milan where the improvement of Italo-Chinese trade relations was discussed. It was opened with a speech by Signor Ferruccio Parri, former premier, and anti-Fascist underground leader, who pleaded the case of an Italo-Chinese trade agreement as staunchly as he had done on previous similar occasions. The same point was supported by several other persons, most of them members of Leftist organisations. The one new fact brought before the Conference was the importance of Italo-Chinese trade for the port of Trieste. The delegate of the Trieste Chamber of Commerce said that his city had lost golden opportunities to the benefit of German harbours. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Austria exchanged about 600,000 tons of goods with People's China last year with considerable rises over the previous year. Hopes of their ever being freed are very slim.

Italy's foreign policy, both trade and diplomatic, continue to be inspired by ideological considerations, and the



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Indian Tobacco in the World Market

By Dr. M. S. Patel

(Secretary, Indian Central Tobacco Committee)

TOBACCO is an important commodity in India agriculturally, commercially, industrially and from the view point of its revenue earning capacity. Tobacco production in India averages about 555 million lbs. comprising different types which may be valued at about Rs 77 crores. Tobacco is the foremost earner of excise revenue and brings annually over 32 crores of rupees to the Exchequer by way of excise duty. It also fetches about Rs 12 crores in foreign money to the Indian exporters. Only about one sixth of the country's produce viz. about 95 million lb. of tobacco are exported. More than 75 percent of this exportable quantity of tobacco is Virginia grown almost exclusively in the Andhra Pradesh which in 1955-56 produced 125 million lbs. of virginia tobacco from 179,000 acres. Export of tobacco in the same year amounted to about 104 million lbs.

The trend in exports of both manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco is given in the following table:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)	Value (lakhs of rupees)
1946-47	75.38	718.45
1947-48	52.72	641.44
1952-53	80.90	1,373.33
1953-54	72.29	1,208.84
1954-55	88.79	1,289.33
1955-56	103.75	1,402.06

United Kingdom

The UK has been the biggest buyer of Indian tobacco all along. FCV tobacco forms the bulk of Indian tobacco exports to the UK. The bright colour grades 1 to 4 are, however, much preferred. This is used in the UK in the manufacture of cigarettes as the characteristics of Indian FCV tobacco enable it to be readily blended with other tobaccos. The other types of Indian tobacco purchased by Britain are White Burley and Suncured Virginia for pipe and shag mixture.

India faces keen competition in the UK market mainly from the United States, Southern Rhodesia, Canada and Nyasaland. America is the largest supplier of leaf tobacco to the UK followed by Rhodesia and India.

Continental Countries

The Continental countries which purchase Indian FCV tobacco are Belgium, Sweden, Netherlands, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Denmark and Ireland. Their imports mostly consist of the low grades of FCV tobacco even though there is occasional demand for top grades also.

Asia and Middle East

These comprise Pakistan, Afghanistan, Aden and Dependencies, Bahrein Islands, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Ceylon which imported the following quantities over a period of 4 years ending 1955-56.

Year	Quantity (in million lbs)	Value (in million Rs.)
1952-53	8.91	17.99
1953-54	11.94	16.63
1954-55	12.46	17.04
1955-56	11.00	15.50

In previous years Afghanistan and Aden and Dependencies used to import bidi and hookah tobaccos only. But of late, these countries have begun showing interest in low grade FCV tobacco also. Ceylon takes both virginia as well as bidi, Bahrein Islands, Yemen and Saudi Arabia import only Indian bidi tobacco. Pakistan was the second largest purchaser of Indian tobacco till 1951-52, since then her purchases have dwindled. Her purchase consisted mostly of bidi and virginia tobacco.

Eastern Countries

These include Hong Kong, Indo-China, Federation of Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Japan and China.

(a) *Hong Kong*: Hong Kong is a very big tobacco assembling centre though no tobacco is grown there. The bulk of Hong Kong's imports is FCV tobacco for use in cigarettes. Before the second world war China was the main source of supply but during the past few years most of these imports came from the US and India.

Quantity of Indian tobacco imported into Hong Kong is given below:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)
1950-51	1.26
1951-52	18.22
1954-55	3.34
1955-56	1.20

(b) *Indo-China*: Indo-China is a good market for Indian low grade FCV tobacco. Indian exports to Indo-China have been on the increase since 1950-51.

(c) *Malaya*: Malaya is not an important tobacco producing country and depends on foreign imports for her requirements. Malaya requires Indian manufactured tobacco consisting of cigarettes, cigars and bidis. Demand for raw tobacco is confined mostly to lower grades. Malayan purchases of Indian tobacco have been:

Year	Quantity (lbs.)
1951-52	347,699
1954-55	199,217
1955-56	280,108

(d) *Burma*: In the post war years, Burma's exports and imports, the major portion being with India, have considerably dwindled. The unmanufactured tobacco imported from India is mainly that of Bhengi from Bengal and Lanka type from Andhra, the former type being used for chewing and the other two types for making cheroots. Figures of imports of Indian tobacco into Burma during the last 3 years are as follows:

Year	Quantity (lbs.)
1953-54	299,029
1954-55	614,671
1955-56	115,958

(e) *Indonesia*: Indonesia produced about 240 million lbs. of tobacco mostly cigar leaves in 1935-39 but of these about 100 million lbs. were exported. But the areas under tobacco dwindled very much during and after the last world war. In 1950, she produced only 67 million lbs. of tobacco.

Indonesia imports tobacco and tobacco products mainly from the US, Holland and the UK. She did not import much from India except in the recent past. Owing to a variety of reasons, there has been a drop in Indonesian production which led her attention towards India. Indonesian imports of Indian tobacco are given in the following table:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)
1953-54	2.44
1954-55	0.319
1955-56	13.43

Recently Indonesia has entered into an agreement with America to import tobacco from the US under a long term agreement and consequently she reduced her imports of FCV tobacco from India.

(f) *Japan.* Japan is a large producer and exporter of tobacco. Even then she is not self-sufficient in the matter of virginia tobacco. She is therefore importing virginia leaf from the US and India. The dollar scarcity combined with cheapness and suitability of Indian tobacco has obliged Japan to give more attention to Indian tobacco. Until 1951, she was interested more in Indian suncured tobacco than in the FCV but since 1952, she has been buying Indian virginia grades 4, LBY and LBY2 besides CBR and CDK grades of suncured country tobacco. These are blended in the manufacture of cigarettes with home-grown tobacco. Japan's purchases of Indian tobacco in the last few years are given in the following table:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)
1953-54	10.05
1954-55	5.89
1955-56	7.73

(g) *China.* China is considered to be the second largest tobacco producing country in the world with an annual estimated production of 1,200 million lbs. Of these, about 260 million lbs. are of virginia type. Occasionally she also imports for her home requirements of virginia tobacco for blending in cigarette manufacture owing to various reasons. China purchased Indian tobacco through Hong Kong. China's purchases are mostly of low grade FCV tobacco. Up to 1954, China's purchases of Indian tobacco were inconsistent. Consequent on the efforts made by the Tobacco Trade Delegation sponsored by the Government of India in 1954 which negotiated a successful deal of 4.5 million lbs. she has evinced greater interest in Indian tobacco and has made further purchases from India.

The quantity of Indian tobacco imported into China during the last 3 years is:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)
1953-54	1.56
1954-55	15.11
1955-56	21.33

Other Countries

(a) *Russia.* Russia is a large grower of tobacco but is not self-sufficient in the matter of virginia tobacco. Russia's purchases of Indian tobacco were sporadic till recently. Of late, Russia has begun to show greater interest in Indian tobacco especially in low grades. Figures of tobacco exported during the period 1950-51 to 1955-56 are given below:

Year	Quantity (million lbs.)
1950-51	8.41

1951-52	...	...	...	...	7.58
1952-53	...	...	...	...	3.64
1953-54	...	...	...	...	Nil
1954-55	...	...	...	...	Negligible
1955-56	...	...	...	...	Negligible

There have been recent enquiries from Russia for purchasing good quantities through the State Trading Corporation of India (Private) Ltd.

(b) *Australia and New Zealand.* Australia and New Zealand also purchase a few million lbs. of tobacco from India. It is understood that these countries have, of late, evinced keen interest in Indian FCV tobacco.

From what has been stated earlier, it will be evident that India has so far had quite satisfactory markets for her tobacco. Efforts are however being made by the Government of India to maintain and expand these foreign markets for Indian tobacco.

Alive to the need for the development of tobacco production in India on scientific lines and improvement of marketing and research, the Government of India constituted the Indian Central Tobacco Committee in 1945 charged with the function of undertaking or adopting such measures as would improve the quality of Indian tobacco and its marketing and develop the industry so as to be able to compete in the world market. The Government of India have recently formed a Tobacco Export Promotion Council which will devote itself completely to the development of export trade in Indian tobacco.

The Government of India have all along encouraged the development of export trade in Indian tobacco to foreign countries by rendering all possible assistance to tobacco merchants in their undertakings in this behalf. The most important measures so far taken and/or proposed to be taken may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) Fixation of Agmark standards of grades to enable sales and purchases on the basis of these grades. (2) Acceptance of the suggestions of tobacco growers and manufacturers and establishment of an autonomous body (Indian Central Tobacco Committee) in 1945 and the various research stations for the improvement and development of all aspects of tobacco production in India. (3) Appointment of Tobacco Sales Offices at London, Antwerp and Hong Kong. (4) The Government of India also sent a five-man Delegation in June 1954 for promoting export trade for Indian tobacco in the Far Eastern countries. The Delegation brightened the prospects of trade in Indian tobacco with these countries and also eased the situation created by the accumulation of stocks. A two-man delegation was also sent in May 1956 to Africa and West Asian countries to find out the possibility of exporting Indian bidis and bidi tobacco to those countries.

(5) Inclusion of tobacco as one of the items of exports in the trade agreements entered with foreign countries wherever possible. (6) Popularisation of Indian tobacco in foreign countries by distribution of samples and publicity materials through Indian Government Trade Representatives abroad. (7) Constitution of an Export Promotion Council for tobacco to support, protect, maintain and promote export of raw tobacco by effecting suitable measures which may be deemed necessary for the overall promotion of Indian tobacco exports. (8) Intensification of tobacco research and development in the coming years with special emphasis on quality.

Danish Delegation to India

By Count K. Knuth-Winterfeldt

WITH higher standards of living in India and the immense technological changes which are now in the offing, there is every reason to expect an enormous expansion of India's trade with the rest of the world, including my own country. The expansion of Indian industries and Indian trade in the coming years will thus offer many possibilities for investment and export for firms in the engineering, electrical and chemical industries because import needs for industrial machinery and equipment may be expected to increase very substantially.

Denmark holds a modest place among India's trade partners, although the mutual trade has been growing rapidly in recent years. According to Indian statistics, the value of Danish exports to India in 1955/56 amounted to about 41 million rupees. This figure reflects a gradual rise during the post-war period and today India holds the fifth or sixth place among our overseas markets. Corresponding increases have also been recorded for Danish imports from India.

In 1956, 30 percent of Danish exports to India consisted of dairy produce, which was the biggest item; other major Danish export articles were: machinery of various kinds, pharmaceutical preparations and electrical equipment.

At present, the main part of Danish imports from India consists of fibres and yarns, piece goods and finished textiles, but imports of feeding stuffs and tobacco also represent a substantial proportion. I believe that India will be able to expand her exports to Denmark, not least of finished textiles and leather articles, and also of Indian handicraft products.

There can hardly be any doubt that the new Indian import restrictions will have substantial repercussions on Denmark's exports of dairy products. Whether it will be possible to recover this loss of export trade by increased exports of manufactures and capital goods will depend on the extent to which Danish exporters, in their offers and conditions of supply will be able to compete successfully with other countries in satisfying Indian requirements in those respects.

The Danish Delegation informed the Indian authorities that hardly any Danish firm would be able to extend a long credit. Certain government officials pointed out, as an alternative method, that earlier payment could be made in rupees provided such rupees were invested in India or, possibly, used to pay for commodities covered by the Indian Export List.

It is possible that there might be groups in Denmark who would be interested in supplying for instance dairy plants to India if the rupees payable for such plants could, by arrangement with the Indian authorities, be made available for purchases of commodities which Denmark would be interested in importing, for instance, oilseed cakes. In this connection it is borne in mind in Denmark that Indian dairy installations may be regarded as "pilot projects" and that countries supplying machinery for such projects would

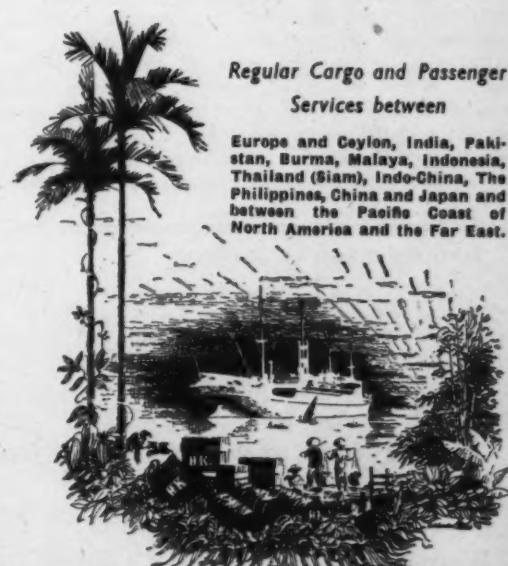
therefore be in a position which would involve certain advantages when the final development of the dairy sector got under way. However, such arrangements would be subject to some uncertainty because the Indian Export List is frequently revised.

Possibilities for direct Danish investments in India, for instance, in connection with supplies of machinery, were also discussed with the Indian authorities. However, any such investments of Danish capital in India will depend essentially on the terms which India can offer for foreign capital. One handicap will be that India does not allow tax concessions for Danish investments. Danish persons, resident in Denmark, or Danish firms domiciled in Denmark, will thus be subject to double taxation of dividends and profits earned in or deriving essentially from India.

During its visit to the Indian Ministry of Agriculture (and also on other occasions) the Danish Delegation brought up the question of imports of Danish breeding cattle. We were informed that the interested circles in India were aware of the successful results achieved with Danish breeding cattle in Indonesia. We were also informed that India is very interested in expanding her fishing fleet by acquisition of fishing vessels from Denmark and other countries. Two Danish-built vessels now operating in India had given satisfactory results.

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The writer, who is from the Danish Foreign Office, was a leading member of the delegation. The above are some extracts from a report he sent to EASTERN WORLD.

Need for Wool in Asia

Japan's growing wool consumption

Japan's consumption of virgin wool continued to increase at the beginning of 1957, and while the 1956 consumption amounted to 171 million lb (clean basis) compared with 127 million lb in 1955, the consumption during the first quarter of 1957 reached the figure of 46.8 million lb as against 35 million lb during the corresponding period of 1956.

The output of Japan's woollen industry shows a corresponding increase. During the first quarter of 1957 the output of wool tops reached 37.4 million lb (26.5 million lb—first quarter of 1956), the output of yarns—62.1 million lb (49.4 million lb—first quarter of 1956), and the output of tissues reached 60 million sq. yds. (50.4 million sq. yds. during the first quarter of 1956). In addition to virgin wool Japan's woollen industry consumed 124.8 million lb other fibres (including re-used wool) in 1955 and 132.5 million lb in 1956. During the first quarter of 1957 the consumption of these fibres amounted to 31.6 million lb, showing a small decrease compared with the corresponding period of 1956 when it was 32.2 million lb. Thus while the consumption of virgin wool increased considerably, the consumption of other fibres used by this industry went slightly down.

Due to the increased requirements of the Japanese woollen industry, imports from Australia increased from 129.5 million lb wool (127.9 million lb greasy and 1.5 million lb scoured wool) during the period July 1955—March 1956, to 180.7 million lb (177.5 million lb greasy and 3.1 million lb scoured wool) during the period of July 1956—March 1957. During the latter period Australia also exported to Japan 1.8 million lb of wool tops and 1.9 million lb. wool noils.

In the present trade negotiations between Australia and Japan, heavy wool purchases by Japan in Australia have strengthened the position of Japanese negotiators, as the Australian authorities are prepared to grant some concessions on the import of Japanese goods to secure the continuation of large scale exports of raw wool to Japan. It would probably mean the abolition of discrimination in issuing import licences for Japanese goods, and the suppliers of machinery, textiles, optical and precision instruments

from other countries would have to face the Japanese competition in the Australian market. Japan has also considerably increased her purchases of raw wool and tops in the United Kingdom, and the following table shows the development of UK total exports to Japan, and the share of the wool exports.

	1955	1956	1957
	first four months of the year	3.7	5.4
UK total exports to Japan	3.7	5.4	12.0
UK exports of wool, hair and tops to Japan	0.3	1.5	4.2

(all figures in million £)

The 1957 exports included 701,000 lb raw sheep's and lambs' wool valued at £268,583; 2,726,000 lb wool tops valued at £1,602,789; and 3,705,000 lb wool waste valued at £1,462,009. UK industry exports to Japan, in addition to the above mentioned raw and semi-manufactured goods, also woollen and worsted yarns and woven fabrics on an increased scale. During the first four months of 1957 the last named exports reached the figure of £937,116 as against £551,861 during the corresponding period of 1956.

UK exports of woollen and worsted yarns and woven fabrics to a number of Asian and Far Eastern countries also show an increase and the exports to India reached the value of £105,290; to Singapore—£110,806; to Hong Kong—£895,316; and to Burma—£33,191. Exports to Pakistan amounted to £60,169, showing a small decrease compared with the corresponding period of 1956.

China buys wool in Australia

During the 9 months' period, July 1956 to March 1957, Australia exported 2.6 million lb greasy wool to China against 1.6 million lb during the corresponding period of the previous season. In addition Australia exported 3.1 million lb wool tops to China during July 1956—March 1957 period. China was thus the largest buyer of Australian wool tops, the total exports amounting to 11.1 million lb.

The decision by UK to abolish the "differential" embargo on China trade has been welcomed by the Australian business community who hope to be able to secure orders from China for goods which were precluded from exports in the past.

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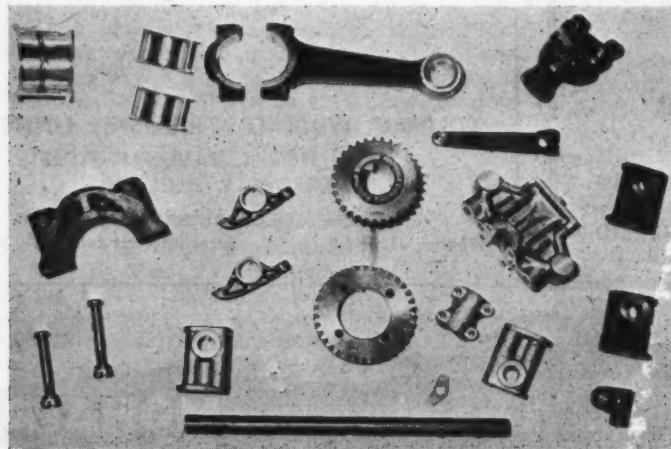
Surface Finishing Machines for Asia

THE training of skilled workers presents an important problem in Asian countries which have embarked on the path of industrialisation. Therefore, machines which show a high standard of efficiency in their performance, and which in operation do not require very great skill or very long training, are of particular interest to Asian countries.

Machines which possess these advantages are now being supplied for the application of the new technique of surface-finishing of metal components. This new technique which has been developed in the West has introduced

is rotated for a set period depending on the material from which the components are made, their size and shape. In recent years Roto-Finish Ltd., have carried out extensive research in this technique, and their machines already find wide application in various engineering industries.

The very wide range of operations which these machines can perform include precision deburring of machined components, grinding (cutting down rough stampings and castings and blending contours), de-scaling, radiusing, deflashing, polishing and others. Because this technique has been suc-



Some of the components that can be finished by the tumbling process

a modern process of finishing components and compares favourably with the obsolete practice of hand-filing. The new technique is called tumbling. The components to be machined are placed together with chips, water and compounds (consisting of abrasives, soap and chemicals) into a barrel which

cessfully applied to components made of soft and hard metals alike and because the number of applications are very wide, these machines have been installed in factories of various industries, including those manufacturing textile and shoemaking machinery, bicycles, motorcars and aeroengines,



A Roto-Finish surface finishing machine

electrical switchgear and circuit breakers, tools, typewriters, fountain pens, diecast toys and many others. The obsolescent technique of hand-filing has all the disadvantages involving the "human factor", and the work has to be carried out by skilled workers. The new process guarantees a very high uniformity of the machined components, and the machine can be operated by semi-skilled workers under the supervision of the works technician. A medium sized "Rotofinish" machine performs the work of six to eight skilled hand operators who can then be employed in a more productive way.

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Section of the deburring department, showing 14 Roto-Finish machines banked in pairs, in the works of a well-known motorcar manufacturing company.

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INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND WEST GERMANY

A special German correspondent in Delhi writes:

The pace of industrial progress which took place in the Federal Republic of Germany correspondingly stepped up the trade expansion outside the Federal Republic. India became one of the favourite countries of the German industrial and economic expansion. Thus, the year 1956 is remarkable for German exports to India climbing to 800 million DM — nearly Rs 890 million — the highest figure ever reached in Indo-German trade. More than 2,000 German businessmen visited India in 1956 to study the Indian market situation.

The commodities which figure prominently in German trade with India are capital goods, machine tools, agricultural instruments, heavy and light electrical equipment, fertilizers, chemicals, steel pipes, locomotives, optical goods and other precision tools, pharmaceutical products, synthetic fibres, photographic materials, etc. The necessity for German industry to export luckily coincided with the necessity for India to import in order to obtain a high standard of industrialisation. Thus it did not take long for the trade and economic relations between the two countries to grow and expand quickly. In this connection many German investments took place.

German imports from India cover only one fourth of German exports to India — approximately 200 million DM — about Rs 230 million. But the Germans are eager to effect an adjustment of the Indian adverse balance in order to close the wide gap between the imports and exports. There are some items on the Indian export list which could be useful imports to the Federal Republic, such as raw coffee, tea, pepper, jute and jute

products, tanning material, musks, almonds, cashew, nuts, sinews, shellac, gums, groundnut oils, vegetable oils and fats, iron and manganese, ores, wool, cotton, cords and ropes etc. In the case of Indian coffee and tobacco there exists a certain prejudice in Europe, but this is due, of course, to the question of a poor market analysis in India with regard to Europe. A greater publicity might help to bring these commodities into the forefront of the European market. The German desire for closer Indo-German cooperation is a hopeful sign and a welcome one, and the hope is that the mutual endeavours will succeed in realising the aims of both countries to serve the wellbeing of their peoples.

INCREASED WEST GERMAN EXPORTS TO CHINA

West Germany's exports to China during the first 3 months of 1957 show an increase of 65 per cent as compared with the value during the corresponding period of 1956 and have reached the value of DM 41.5 million (about £34 million).

INDIAN EXHIBITION FOR PEKING

In the middle of September India will hold a big industrial and trade exhibition in Peking. The exhibition will occupy about 11,000 sq. metres and will last for three weeks. The aim of this exhibition is to give a fairly good idea of India's economic resources, her development programme and of the commodities which India can offer for export.

WORLD BANK LOAN FOR POWER PROJECT

The World Bank made a loan equivalent to \$9.8 million for the expansion of a thermal electric power plant

at Trombay near Bombay. The additional power will help to alleviate the continuing shortage of power in the Bombay area, one of the most important industrial centres in India.

The borrowers are The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company Limited, The Andhra Valley Power Supply Company, Limited, and The Tata Power Company, Ltd. These companies are privately owned and form part of the group of Tata enterprises. This is the second Bank loan for the Trombay thermal plant; a loan of \$16.2 million in 1954 assisted in the construction of the plant with two generating units having a combined maximum capacity of 125,000 kilowatts. Today's loan will help to pay for the installation of a third unit with a maximum capacity of 62,500 kilowatts.

The first unit of the Trombay plant came into operation in December 1956 and the second came into operation in June. These units are using by-products from an adjacent refinery as fuel. The new unit will be completed in April 1960. It will be equipped with coal crushing and handling equipment and will primarily use coal from central India; it will also be equipped to burn fuel oil, as well as by-products, from the refinery.

FORMOSA'S ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY

Taiwan Aluminium Corporation and the International Cooperation Administration in Washington, D.C., have reached agreement on the modernisation of plant facilities with US\$585,000 and NT\$7,000,000 from ICA, matched by NT\$10,000,000 from Taiwan Aluminium Corporation. The project, scheduled for completion at the end of 1958, is designed to increase output of the Kaohsiung factory, while reducing production costs. It is anticipated that

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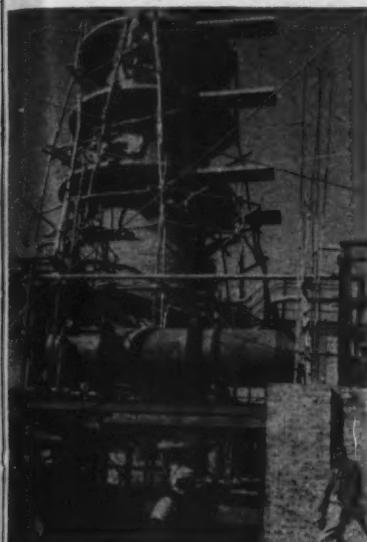
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aluminium ingot output can be increased from the present level of 8,000 tons per



Sugarmill at Panipat, Punjab, belonging to the Indian Sugar Cooperatives and built by Czechoslovak industry. The plant was delivered by Technoexport, the Czechoslovak Trade Corporation for exporting complete industrial plants

year to 10,000 tons.

The aluminium industry in Taiwan not only produces ingot and fabricates products for export but also supplies raw materials for the operation of many small industries. Between 1952 and 1956, a total of 62 new companies were originated which use aluminium products as raw materials. Through increased output of aluminium ingot, these small industries, manufacturing kitchen utensils, aluminium windows, doors, containers and machine parts, can increase output for local consumption and export, thus contributing to the overall economic development of Taiwan.

NATIONALS GET NEW ORDER IN PAKISTAN

The National Gas and Oil Engine Co. Ltd., of Ashton-under-Lyne has received an order from Pakistan for two National B2AUP6 type, six cylinder, pressure charged, dual-fuel engines each developing 1460 b.h.p. at 333 r.p.m., and each driving a Brush 1,000 kW, 3.3 kV, 3 phase, 50 cycle alternator.

These are the first National pressure charged dual-fuel engines to be installed in Pakistan. They are for the Moghalpura power station of the North Western railway and will replace two existing engines. They are due for delivery from the works in November, 1957.

CHINA AND INDIA RENEW TRADE AGREEMENT

The trade agreement between China and India has been renewed. Letters to this effect have been exchanged between Pan Tzu-li, Chinese Ambassador to India and S. Ranganathan, Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Indian Government.

The Sino-Indian agreement which was originally signed on October 14, 1954, was valid for a period of 2 years. Negotiations have been going on for some time past between the representatives of the two governments for a renewal of the agreement. It has now been decided that with certain modifications the trade relations between China and India should continue to be governed by the provisions of the original agreement. These modifications mainly relate to payment procedure and arrangements for conversion of rupees into sterling being effected only through an account maintained by the People's Bank of China with the Reserve Bank of India. These new payment arrangements will come into force from July 1, 1957. The renewed agreement will be valid up to December 31, 1958. Since 1954 the trade between India and China has increased over six times.

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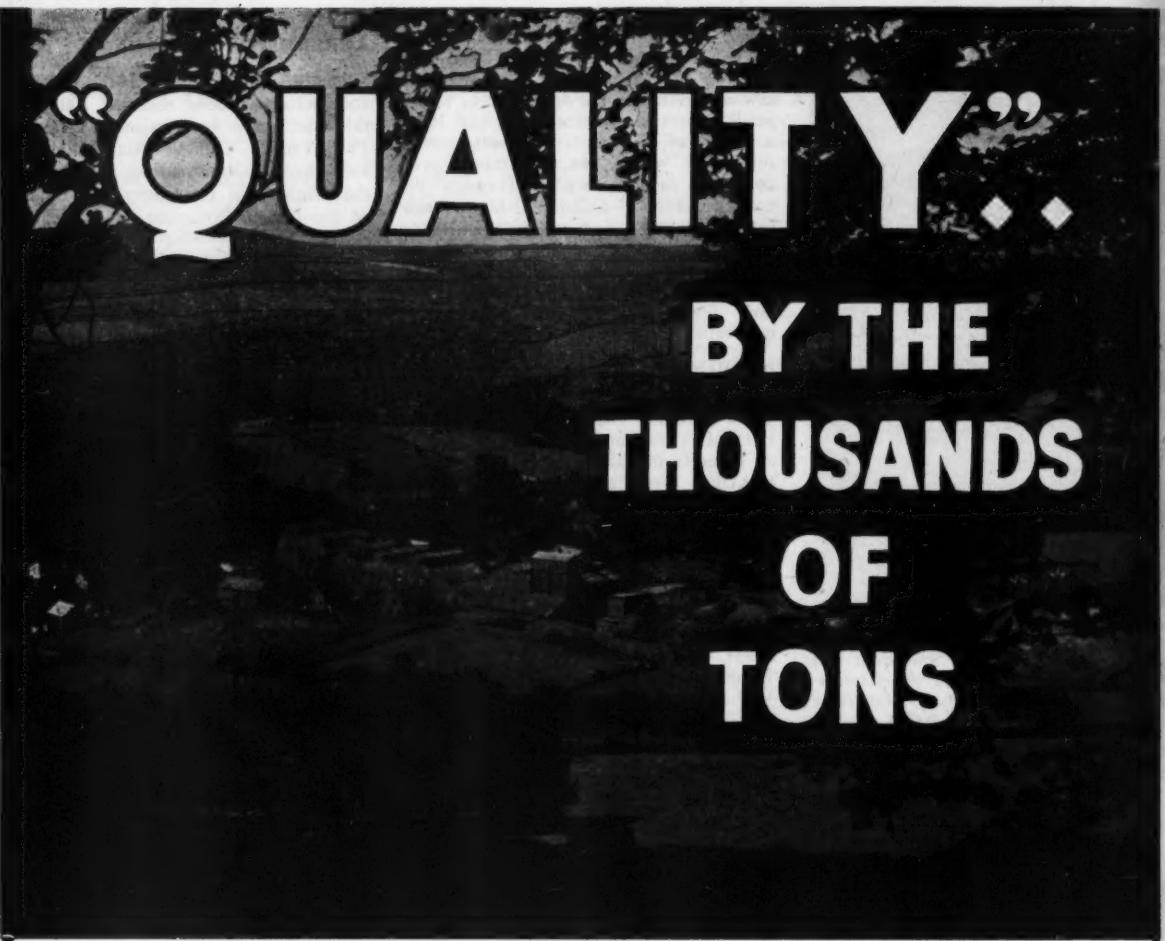
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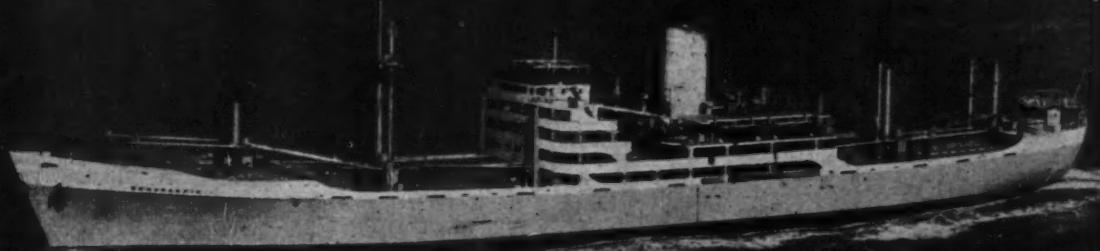
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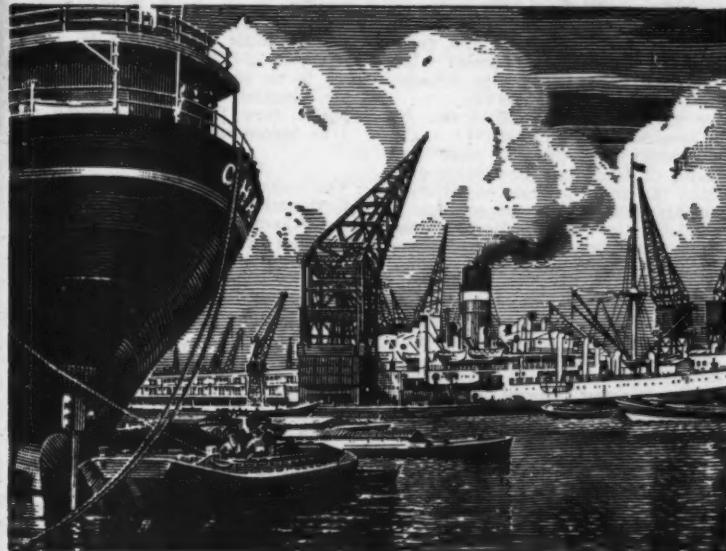
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ALL ELECTRIC DOUBLE COLUMN PLANING MACHINES FOR METAL: ONE OFF 42in. x 36in. x 8ft., and one off 36in. x 30in. x 6ft.

Tender schedules and specifications may be obtained from the above address at a fee of ten shillings which is not refundable. The applications for tender forms should state reference 2007/57/ENG.3.

Tenders complete with specifications are to be submitted by Monday, 15th July 1957.

In continuation of the advertisement dated 17th May, 1957, for Disconnecting Switches for Panchet Hill Project, required by the "Damodar Valley Corporation," Anderson House, Calcutta, 27, India, due date for submission of tenders has been extended up to 15th July, 1957.

The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

13,495 off Window Frame Profile for Coaches in Light Aluminium Alloy.

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address on or after the 7th June, 1957, at a fee of 10s. which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Thursday 18th July, 1957.

Please quote reference No. 24/57/DB/RLY.2.

The Director General of India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:

Quantity
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Stud Protector Rustless ... 55,000
As per I.S.D.Drg.No.T.21306

Forms of tender may be obtained from the above address on or after 14th June, 1957, at a fee of 10s. which is not returnable. If payment is made by cheque, it should please be made payable to "High Commissioner for India." Tenders are to be delivered by 2 p.m. on Thursday, 25th July, 1957. Please quote reference No. 278/56/RLY.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3,

invites tenders for the supply of:

Quantity	Tons
Zinc Terne Lining, 7ft. x 3ft. x .005ins.	30

Forms of Tender which are returnable on Thursday, 4th July, 1957, may be obtained from this Office (CDN Branch), upon payment of fee of 10s. which is not returnable. Reference No. 1103/57/5/Mis.1 must be quoted in all applications.

The Director General, Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the supply of Bitumen Transfer Pump 2½ in. Steam Jacketed Vicking with a capacity of 80G.P.M. Driven by a suitable diesel engine developing about 13 b.h.p. at about 1,400 r.p.m. complete with all accessories. Tender forms and specifications are obtainable from the Director General, India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3 under reference No. S.1309/57/ENG.4 on payment of 3s. Tenders are to be addressed to Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi, for opening on 18th July, 1957.

The Director General, Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:— Project/SE/160-H/1. Power transformers, circuit breakers and complete substation equipment for Chambal Valley Electricity Scheme. 132kV.—30 MVA 66 kV.—15 MVA etc.

as specification No. CGD/513.

Specifications, detailed plans and forms of tender are obtainable only from the above address on payment of 165 shillings. A tender schedule is available for examination at the India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3 under reference No. S.1310/57/ENG.4. Tenders are to be addressed to Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi, for opening on 29th August, 1957.

The Director General, Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:—

Project SE/6315 G/11/6316 G/11 Transmitter Lines material for Chambal Valley Project. Insulators, Tower Earthing and Accessories for 132 KV Double Circuit Line.

Specifications, detailed plans and forms of tender are obtainable only from the above address on payment of 202s. and sixpence. A tender schedule is available for examination at the India Store Department,

Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3 under reference S.1349/57/ENG.4. Tenders are to be addressed to the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi, for opening on 4th September, 1957.

The Director General, Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:—

PROJECT/SE/53-H/1. Equipment for 5th Unit at Hirakud Power House No. 1.

1. Vertical Shaft, adjustable blade, Kaplan Turbine, 52,000 bhp at 87 feet head 150 rpm. Specification No. EL19.

2. Complete Generating Plant-42 MVA, 132 KV generator, power transformers, Switchgear Specification No. EL19.

PROJECT SE/115-H/1
3. Electric overhead travelling crane 250 tons lifting capacity with two trolleys for Hirakud Power House. Specification No. EL20.

Specifications, detailed plans and forms of tender are obtainable only from the above address on payment of 15s. for tender forms, £15 for Specification EL19 and £5 12s. 6d. for specification EL20. Tender Schedules are available for examination at the India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, W.3, under reference S.1270/57/ENG.4. Tenders are to be addressed to the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi, for opening on 11th September, 1957.

The office of "Damodar Valley Corporation", Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, 27, India Invites tenders for the following:

Specification: PE-SPEC-13.

ACSR Conductor "LARK" accessories and erection tools.

Specification: PE-SPEC-14.

"CRAPO" or equivalent galvanized steel wire 7 x 9 SWG. accessories and erection tools.

Specifications, details and forms of tender can be obtained direct from India at the address below on payment of £5-5-0d. for specification No. 13 and £2-5-0d. for specification No. 14. Copies of specifications are on view at The India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, under reference S.1315/57/AHV/ENG.4.

Tenders are to be addressed to The Controller of Stores, The Damodar Valley Corporation, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, 27, India, in time to be there before 11 a.m. on 30th July, 1957.



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